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Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context

A Study of Demotic Instructions

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PREFACE

Egyptian wisdom literature in its final phase, that is to say, sapiential works written in Demotic language and script during the Graeco-Roman period, is presently known through three major works, a minor one, and a few small fragments. The four main texts are: 1. The great Papyrus Insinger of the Leiden Museum, published with praiseworthy speed in 1899 and 1905. 2. The Tefnut Legend, also a Leiden Museum Papyrus, published in 1917. 3. The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy, a handsome British Museum papyrus, which was issued in 1955. 4. The small Louvre Demotic Papyrus no. 2414, also published in 1955.

Three of the four works, the exception being the Tefnut Legend, belong to the genre Instructions, and it is with this genre that the present study is concerned. The Tefnut Legend, a work part mythological and part sapiential and thus pertaining to wisdom literature in the wider sense, does not lend itself to being treated in the narrower context of Instructions, wherefore, except for brief remarks, it has not been dealt with here.

In two basic studies issued in 1940 and 1941, A. Volten published and analysed the several fragmentary Carlsberg Papyri of Copenhagen which contain variant versions of the long wisdom book for which Papyrus Insinger is our principal text copy. His two works have done much to advance the understanding of Papyrus Insinger, then the only known major specimen of the genre Demotic Instructions. But it was not until 1955, when the two other Instructions were published, that Papyrus Insinger ceased to be an isolated work, and all three Instructions could at last be viewed together as three specimens of the same genre. However, no major study of the three texts had been undertaken by the time I came to translate the Instructions of Ankhsheshonqy and of Papyrus Insinger for the third volume of my Ancient Egyptian Literature. Thus, I had before

me two major sapiential works which cast much light on each other, whose joint message had, however, yet to be deciphered.

Having studied the two works and their presently known small satellites for the last several years, I am now presenting my results. The new translations of the two principal texts are much revised versions of my earlier ones. The detailed study of the genre has led to the conclusion that Demotic Instructions had absorbed many elements of non-Egyptian origin, for their authors had been acquainted with, and influenced by, the currents of international wisdom literatures, Near Eastern and Greek, which flowed through the internationalized cultures of the Hellenistic world.

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I. DEMOTIC INSTRUCTIONS, A NEW TYPE

1. The Monostich

In contrast with earlier Egyptian instructional works, Demotic Instructions are composed of single sentences that are grammatically and logically complete and self-contained. The three major works - the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy, the Instruction of Papyrus Insinger, and the Louvre Demotic Papyrus 2414 - are, moreover, written in such a way that each sentence occupies one line on the page. This stichic writing is not present in the small fragments, but they too indicate the separation of sentences graphically by the use of blank spaces as sentence dividers. The method of composing Instructions by means of single sentences - I call it monostichic composition - has of course attracted attention, but it has not been closely examined and explained.

In the paper on Papyrus Insinger which I contributed to the symposium volume on Lebenslehren,[1] I gave a preliminary and tentative explanation of the new form by drawing attention to two aspects of Demotic literature. First, the fact that, when the Demotic vernacular began to be written, it was for a considerable length of time used only for legal and business documents. Only after a lag of centuries was its use extended to the creation of literary works. Second, the fact that the large majority of Demotic literary works are prose works. The slowness in employing the vernacular for literary purposes, and the paucity of Demotic poetry, suggest a repetition of the process which delayed and hampered the use of the Late-Egyptian, or Ramesside, vernacular as a literary language in New Kingdom times. In both cases, the reluctance to employ the

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1 Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren, 284-305. In the same volume Kitchen spoke of "simple 1-line units," but I cannot agree that the examples from Amenemope cited in his Table IX (p. 278) are, in fact, one-line units.

vernacular in literature reflected and in turn promoted the dominance of Middle Egyptian as the model language of literature. Ramesside Egyptian was mainly confined to prose fiction, failed to replace Middle Egyptian in monumental inscriptions and in mortuary texts, and, in the Instructions, assumed an uneasy partnership with Middle Egyptian. When its turn came, the Demotic vernacular triumphed in prose fiction, gained a foothold in monumental inscriptions, and made marginal appearances in mortuary literature and in poetry. The underlying inhibitions, while not producing identical results for both phases of the language, explain, so I suggested, why the Demotic scribes abandoned the style of the earlier Instructions, with their integrated poetic sequences, and invented a new type of Instruction by assembling and coining single-line prose precepts and adages. Such single-line maxims were of necessity prose sentences, since Egyptian poetic forms depended absolutely on the couplet and its derivatives.

It now seems to me that this explanation is too incomplete. It accounts for the monostichic form in a negative way only - as an avoidance of poetry and a preference for prose - and does not visualize the positive impulses that created the new type of Instruction. The present study aims at elucidating these impulses and all aspects of the resultant novel character of Demotic Instructions.

To set the stage, let us first briefly compare the form of the classical Egyptian Instruction with that of the new Demotic type. Apart from its prologue and epilogue, the Instruction of Ptahhotep consists of thirty-seven teachings, each comprising a sequence of interconnected sentences. Their basic pattern is tripartite: a conditional clause sketching a situation, a set of imperatives, and an amplifying explanation by means of generalizing statements. Sometimes the introductory conditional clause is dispensed with. There is considerable variation in the length of the thirty-seven separate teachings. The following one, the seventeenth, has an average length:

If you are a man who leads,
Listen calmly to the speech of one who pleads;

Do not stop him from purging his body
Of that which he planned to tell.
A man in distress wants to pour out his heart
More than that his case be won.
About him who stops a plea
One says: "Why does he reject it?"
Not all one pleads for can be granted,
But a good hearing soothes the heart. (P. Prisse 9,3-7)

In the New Kingdom Instructions of Any and Amenemope the precepts no longer start with a conditional clause but directly with a command which may be a positive exhortation or a negative injunction. In Any there is a slight preponderance of negative commands, while in Amenemope their predominance is very marked. This means that the vetitive "do not" with following verb was becoming the preferred opening of a precept. The sentences are shaped and linked by the traditional parallelism of members and other poetic devices. In addition, Amenemope has numbered chapters which mark off the individual instructions. As in the past these vary in length, the average being from twelve to sixteen lines. Here is Chapter 10:

Do not force yourself to greet the heated man,
For then you injure your own heart;
Do not say "Greetings" to him falsely,
While there is terror in your belly.
Do not speak falsely to a man,
The god abhors it.
Do not sever your heart from your tongue,
That all your strivings may succeed;
You will be weighty before the others,
And secure in the hand of the god.
God hates the falsifier of words,
He greatly abhors the dissembler.

In Amenemope the genre Egyptian Instructions had attained its maximal integration and coherence through the concentration on a few themes and their organization by means of numbered chapters. Thus, the contrast presented by the new type of Demotic Instructions is very strong. After an introductory

story of great length, Ankhsheshonqy launches his teachings as follows (Column 6 of the papyrus; the top lines of all columns are missing):

(1) S[erve your] god, that he may guard you.
(2) Serve your brothers, that you may have good repute.
(3) Serve a wise man, that he may serve you.
(4) Serve him who serves you.
(5) Serve any man, that you may be useful.
(6) Serve your father and mother, that you may go and be successful.
(7) Examine every matter, that you may know it.
(8) Small-of-wrath and great-of-heart makes a good heart.
(9) It is after ⌜becoming mature⌝ that any teaching succeeds.
(10) Do not rely on the property of another, saying "I will live on it"; acquire your own.

These initial lines show the basic characteristics of the new type of Instruction: the strictly monostichic form; the treatment of a theme by linking several independent sentences in a chain formed by repetition of the first word and similarity of sentence structure; and the abrupt changes of theme. Faced with this novel aphoristic manner, Glanville, the editor of the text, suggested that the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy was "an anthology of proverbs."[2] The term "proverb" will, however, not accommodate sentences such as these ten, nor a great many others in this Instruction. Indeed, the description of the work as an anthology of proverbs blocks the path to the understanding of this new mode of composition.

Equally unfortunate was Glanville's opinion that the work was written "for the guidance of the peasant farmer," and this accounted for the "rather elementary level" of its morality. The fact is that fewer than one-tenth of the more than five-hundred sayings have any bearing on farming and country life. It is, moreover, obvious that images and comparisons drawn from country life and the animal world would come naturally to all segments of the population in an ancient society where town and

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2 Glanville, 'Onchsheshonqy, XIV.

country lay close together. Yet both his suggestions were accepted, and two Old Testament scholars, Gemser[3] and McKane,[4] undertook to explain the novelty of the work by enlarging on its supposedly popular character. In Gemser's view the aphoristic single sentences represented "a less developed form of wisdom," and he concluded: "All this means a warning against constructing an evolutionary straight line of development of Egyptian wisdom and proverbial literature. Its less developed products do not necessarily stand at the beginning. They can accompany and be contemporary even with the highest specimens of thought and feeling." (pp. 112 & 128). McKane, for his part, argued that the text was a "popular" work, one "not located in the circles of the scribal establishment." He believed he detected a large number of genuine folk proverbs, and he stated that "there are almost as many statements in Onchsheshonqy as there are prohibitions or commands." And since in an Instruction "the imperative is of its essence," it followed that "almost half of Onchsheshonqy is not Instruction at all." Furthermore, "the popular proverb has the form of a statement, and many of the statements in Onchsheshonqy are popular proverbs." (pp. 117 & 119f.).

Gemser's evaluation of the work as a less developed form of wisdom will not stand up to scrutiny, as we shall see. As to McKane's argumentation, it is contradicted by his own observations. For he had taken pains to establish the large role played in Egyptian Instructions by the bipartite wisdom saying consisting of imperative and explanatory statement, and to demonstrate that the finished Instructions were composed in nearly equal measure of commands and motivating statements. Hence, if half of Ankhsheshonqy consists of statements, this is a feature which it shares with other Instructions and not a distinctive trait at all. The fact is that in the classic Egyptian Instructions the statements outnumber the imperatives, and in

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3 B. Gemser, The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy and Biblical Wisdom Literature, in: Congress Volume Oxford 1959, Leiden 1960 (VTSuppl 7) 102-128.

4. W. McKane, Proverbs, a New Approach, London 1970, 117ff.

Papyrus Insinger, the least popular of the Instructions, their preponderance is very marked. Lastly, when it came to detecting genuine folk proverbs, McKane, who relied on Glanville's often faulty translations, became lost in the proverbial woods.

Returning to our point of departure, the comparison of Ankhsheshonqy with earlier Egyptian Instructions, we restate our question: Was the novel form of Ankhsheshonqy the result of an inner-Egyptian development, or were there other factors? We said above that pointing to the Demotic writers' preference for prose is at best a partial answer. To find a more comprehensive and convincing explanation we shall do three things: cast a glance at the literary forms of biblical wisdom; search the Egyptian wisdom literature of the New Kingdom for indications of a trend toward the aphoristic Demotic Instructions; and, most of all, draw forth from the texts themselves the cultural ambience in which the Demotic writers wrote their works.

2. The Classic Egyptian Wisdom Saying

Bible scholars have commented extensively on the difference between the integrated speeches in the Book of Proverbs, chapters 1-9, and the collections of mostly bipartite sayings that make up the greater part of the work. They have also noted that the long poetic speeches of chapters 1-9 are structured in a manner comparable to the integrated sequences of Egyptian Instructions, whereas the collections of self-contained two-sentence sayings have no counterparts in Egyptian wisdom prior to the Demotic Instructions.[5] The distinction is an important one. Biblical wisdom employed the literary microform "saying" in a way which allowed the individual saying to stand out as an independent unit. Gathered into a collection, the sayings were strung together without losing their distinctiveness. But the pre-Demotic Egyptian Instructions presently known did not use this method, though the microform "saying" was readily available. It existed as a formative component which was welded with other kinds of sentences to form integrated speeches

5 Cf. Kayatz, Studien zu Proverbien 1-9.

of varying length. Whether or not they were formally separated, these speeches were the major constitutive elements within the macrostructure "Instruction." This means that the individual sayings ("Sprüche"), be they already in use or freshly coined, functioned in a manner that was covert, not overt. For this reason, it seems to me that the term "Spruchliteratur" which some scholars have applied to Egyptian instructional compositions[6] is not suitable for the pre-Demotic Instructions.

There exists, however, one instructional text that consists of a series of unconnected precepts. This is the Petrie Ostracon No. 11 of the New Kingdom.[7] The sherd contains sixteen stichically written bipartite prohibitions, in seven almost complete lines on the recto and ten on the verso:

(1) Do not gird yourself today for tomorrow before it has come, yesterday is not like today from the hands of God.[a]
(2) Do not mock an old man, an old woman in their infirmity, lest [they ⌜utter curses⌝] against you upon your old age.
(3) Do not sate yourself alone if your mother is a have-not;[b] it will surely be heard by ---
(4) Do not straighten what is crooked, then you will be loved; a man is drawn by his character as (by) his limb.
(5) Do not boast of your strength while you are young; you may find tomorrow as gall on [your] lips.
(6) Do not take a large bite of the goods of the king, lest ------ swallow you.
(7) --- the palace life-prosperity-health at the door ------

Verso:

(1) Do not spare your body while you are a youth; food comes through the hands, nourishment through the feet.
(2) Do not boast of things that are not yours; another time it will be theft and transgressing commands.

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6 E.g. Brunner, ZÄS 93 (1966) 29ff., including a reference to the prior use of the term by A. Hermann, OLZ 1959, cols. 251ff. However, the aim of Hermann's remarks was to emphasize the primacy of the macrostructure over the microforms.

7 Černý/Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca I, pls. 1-1A, and Gardiner, WZKM 54 (1957) 43-45, translation.

(3) Do not denounce (lit. "raise up") a wrong if it is small;
a mast that lies prone looks like a foot.
(4) Do not denounce ("raise up") a small wrong lest it grow
large; a shipwright could raise it up like a mast.
(5) Do not make schemes for tomorrow before it has come;[c]
it is today until tomorrow comes.
(6) Do not shun your neighbors in the days of their need;
then they will surround you in [your moment].
(7) Do not make your feast without your neighbors; then they
will surround you with mourning on burial day.
(8) Do not boast of grain at the time of plowing; one shall
see on the threshing floor ------
(9) Do not persist in fighting your neighbors; your supporters
------
(10) --- ⌜wakeful to know⌝ ------

a) The sentence nn sf mi p3 hrw ḥr 'wy nṯr was rendered by Gardiner as: "is not(?) yesterday like to-day upon the hands of God?" This rendering was reproduced by Griffiths in HThR 53 (1960) 219, while Williams in The Legacy of Egypt, 281 eliminated Gardiner's question mark after "is not" and translated: "Is yesterday not like tomorrow in the hands of god?" The same translation was adopted by Assmann, Zeit und Ewigkeit, 66: "Sind nicht Gestern wie heute in der Hand Gottes?" I make the following objections: As Gardiner was of course aware, the negation nn does not normally introduce a question - there are some difficult examples, notably in Wenamun, of nn in negative rhetorical questions - hence his hesitation and question mark. Why then the preference for this rendering? Perhaps because of the influence of the 90th Psalm with its idea of God's control over the totality of time and his indifference to its passing. But the point of the Egyptian saying is that man must not plan for tomorrow because human life is subject to changes that are decreed by God. The contingency of human existence was a major theme in Egyptian thought, especially since the New Kingdom, as Assmann also emphasized: "Am verbreitetsten ist die Einsicht in die grundsätzliche Unverfügbarkeit der Zukunft." ... "Morgen ist anders als heute." (ibid. 66-67). I therefore translate: "Yesterday is not like today from the

hands of God." (The preposition hr is of course "upon" as well as "from"). The sentence expounds practical wisdom; it does not, as the psalmist does, extol God's transcendence of time.

b) Gardiner rendered im.k s33 w't(y) mwt.k m iwty as: "Recognize not one as thy mother who is not." I take s33 to be from s3y, "to be sated," rather than s33, "to know," and iwty in the sense of "have-not."

c) bw iit.f here, as in recto 1, must belong with the first sentence. Gardiner combined it with the second sentence here, though not so in recto 1, and rendered, "it has not yet come to-day until tomorrow comes," which does not make sense.

Here then we have the "saying" in its quasi natural state: in a sequence of two-sentence precepts, each consisting of a vetitive sentence followed by an explanatory one. The explanatory sentence comes in two forms: either a clause of consequence describing the bad/good result of wrong/right action, or an asyndetic generalization. There is no thematic order, except that two themes - not to quarrel over a small fault (vs.3-4) and not to neglect the neighbors (vs.6-7) - are treated in two consecutive sayings. This bit of order has not been extended to the third twice-treated theme - not to plan for tomorrow - where the two precepts are separated (rt.1 and vs.5).

How do we define the product as a whole? A collection of proverbs? A collection of sayings designed to serve as raw material for the composition of an Instruction? A scribe's exercise in copying wisdom sayings? Or could it have been a segment of an actual Instruction?

The interpretation of the text as a collection of proverbs can be ruled out. For just as the biblical "Mahnsprüche" are now recognized as having been literary creations which now and then incorporated folk proverbs,[8] so the Egyptian sayings are literary products with some grounding in folk wisdom. The alternatives of the text's being a scribe's exercise, or a col-

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8 Cf. Hermisson, Spruchweisheit; von Rad, Weisheit in Israel, 41ff.

lection of sayings designed as material for an Instruction, are not mutually exclusive. It could have been an exercise in compiling wisdom sayings with a view to future use. I tend to view the compilation as a collection of raw material, rather than a segment of a finished Instruction, while admitting that it may represent a type of Instruction in which the precepts were not integrated into larger units, but were left to stand out individually as in the collections of the Book of Proverbs. If so, it would be a type not yet properly known.[9] In any case we have here the microform "saying" in the variety of admonitory saying in the vetitive mode, a form which was in the ascendance during the New Kingdom.

Now what bearing does this collection of bipartite vetitive precepts have on the Demotic Instructions? Whether viewed as raw material, or as a segment of a finished Instruction, would it be a precursor of the aphoristic Demotic Instructions? Hardly. For the essential feature of the Demotic Instructions was the replacement of the bipartite precept by the single sentence. It is true that two monostichs were often logically connected so as to form bipartite sayings though each sentence was complete. Here are a few examples from the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy:

> Do well by your body in your days of well-being.
> There is no one who does not die. (8/7-8)

> Do not say "I did a good deed to this man, but he did not acknowledge it to me."
> There is no good deed except the good deed that you have done to him who has need of it. (15/5-6)

Two-sentence sayings of this type are, however, not numerous. More common are two-sentence sequences in which both parts have the same form, either two imperatives or two statements:

> Do not be a hindrance often, lest you be reviled.
> Do not get drunk often, lest you rave. (11/5-6)

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9 In Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren, 281 Kitchen stated that the Petrie Ostracon was part of an Instruction entitled "According to Ancient Writings," yet to be assembled.

Better is muteness than a hasty tongue.
Better is sitting than doing a mean errand. (15/16-17)

Even more common than either of these two kinds of paired sentences are chains of monostichs that have the same structure: imperatives, optatives, or statements, such as the chain of six imperatives with which Ankhsheshonqy begins his teachings.

Thus the classical bipartite wisdom saying, comprised of an imperative and a statement, appears in a remodelled form in the Demotic Instructions - as a pair of independent sentences - and it is only one among other types of linked single sentences. It results that the basic microform of Demotic Instructions was not the classical bipartite saying but rather the newly invented mobile and multipurpose monostich.

The monostich appears to be newly invented because we have found no precedent for it in the known Egyptian wisdom texts, including the unpublished Late-Hieratic sapiential text of the Brooklyn Museum (Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.135). Assembled from many small fragments, this unfortunately incomplete but very remarkable papyrus has been brought to the attention of scholars through the paper by Posener and Sainte Fare Garnot.[10] By the kind permission of its editor, G. Posener, and the authorities of the Brooklyn Museum's Department of Egyptian and Classical Art, I was enabled to study the papyrus and to ascertain that it is not in any sense a precursor of the Demotic Instructions. Its themes are treated in lengthy integrated sections. For example, all of page B, the best preserved page, describes farm labor and its rewards in abundant crops, and extols the farmer's way of life as the most important of all professions - no doubt a deliberate reply to the derisive accounts of the peasant's hard life which the school texts of the New Kingdom had indulged in. The sentences are mostly connected by means of parallelism, and there are many subordinate clauses introduced by the circumstantial iw. For instance, line B.10 reads:

iir.k sk3 iw.k ḫr p3 nḫb iir.k 'w3 iw.k ḏrp ḫ3rw ḥr ḫtyw

---

10 In SPOA, 153-157.

You plow being under the yoke, you reap beating grain loads on the threshing floor.

Having concluded that the Demotic instructional monostich has no known precursor in earlier Egyptian wisdom,[11] we now approach the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy with the question whether it may reveal tangible traces of acquaintance with, and borrowing from, non-Egyptian sapiential sources.

While the interrelatedness of Mesopotamian, Israelite, and Egyptian wisdom literatures has long been postulated, the precise pinpointing of influences and borrowings has proved elusive and difficult. In particular, Egypt's role as recipient rather than purveyor of wisdom during the Hellenistic age has not been investigated at all. Only Demotic narrative literature has been shown to have borrowed themes and motifs from Greek literary sources.[12] To lay bare the Demotic writers' acquaintance with non-Egyptian wisdom is the aim of the following chapters. The novelty of the Demotic instructional monostich has been the signpost pointing to this unexplored territory.

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11 The occasional use of single-sentence proverbial sayings in classical Egyptian Instructions, such as Djedefhor's "The house of death is for life," is no proof to the contrary, for such sentences are integrated into the poetic distichs and tristichs. Of course, single-sentence proverbs also occur in other Egyptian literary texts.

12 See, for instance, Volten, Der demotische Petubastisroman und seine Beziehung zur griechischen Literatur, in Akten des 8. internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie (MPON n.s.5, 1956) 147-152.

II. THE INSTRUCTION OF ANKHSHESHONQY

1. Ankhsheshonqy and Ahiqar

1.1 An Admonition against Taking Part in Quarrels

This is an old topic in Egyptian wisdom. In the Instruction of Any (8,16) we read:

Do not enter into a crowd
If you find it in an uproar
And about to come to blows.
Don't pass anywhere near by,
Keep away from their tumult,
Lest you be brought before the court,
When an inquiry is made.
Stay away from hostile people,
Keep your heart quiet among fighters;
An outsider is not brought to court,
One who knows nothing is not bound in fetters.

The same topic occurs in an instructional text published by Posener, which he has since then identified as belonging to the Instruction of a Man for his Son.[13] It reads:

Do not launch your heart into a fight,
Hold back when you pass a tumult;
Do not separate two men who are raging,
The dispute turns against him who would judge it,
He who counsels another becomes the enemy.
At peace is he who hears not, provokes not,
It is the (other) man who rouses hostility;
Safe is he who shuts his mouth,
Reproaches turn into fighting words.

---

13 In RdE 7 (1950) 71-84, and in Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren, 314f.

The initial advice is the same as in Any: to stay away from a quarreling mob. The sequel, however, introduces a new theme: not to intervene in the dispute of two men, lest they unite against the would-be mediator. This shows that there existed two distinct themes within the topic "not to participate in quarrels." For the first of the two themes there is a close parallel in the Babylonian Counsels of Wisdom:[14]

> Do not frequent a law court,
> Do not loiter where there is a dispute,
> For in the dispute they will have you as a testifier,
> Then you will be made their witness,
> And they will bring you to a lawsuit not your own to affirm.
> When confronted with a dispute go your way, pay no attention to it;
> Should it be a dispute of your own, extinguish the flame!

In Ankhsheshonqy both aspects of the topic "avoid quarrels" reappear and are treated separately. Ankhsh. 19/11-12:

> When two brothers quarrel do not come between them.
> He who comes between two brothers when they quarrel
> will be placed between them when they are reconciled.

This is essentially the same as the earlier Egyptian treatment, except that "two men" has been replaced by "two brothers." For the theme of the quarreling crowd, however, Ankhsheshonqy offers a version which is distinctly different:

> m-ir hwš r rmt 'š3
> in3 hwš ḫpr iw mḥy ḫpr
> in3 mḥy ḫpr iw ḥtb ḫpr
> bw-ir ḥtb ḫpr iw bw-ir rḫ p3 ntr
> bw-ir mt.t ḫpr m-s3 t3 nty iw p3 ntr sḫn.ṯ.s
> Do not insult the common man.
> When insult occurs beating occurs.
> When beating occurs killing occurs.
> Killing does not occur without the god knowing.
> Nothing occurs except what the god commands. (22/21-25)

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14 Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom, 100f.; Pfeiffer in ANET^2, 426.

To understand this version, we must turn to the Wisdom of Ahiqar and recall that the fragmentary Aramaic text recovered from Elephantine papyri of the fifth century B.C. agrees only in a few passages with the Syriac and other Oriental translations of Ahiqar made in the early Christian centuries and preserved in medieval manuscripts. This means that there must have existed intermediate versions of Ahiqar of later date than the known Aramaic text, and it was from these that the translations were made. Now if one encounters in these translations the "quarrel" theme in versions which in content and form are practically identical with that of Ankhsheshonqy, one has come face to face with the ghosts of some of those no longer extant Ahiqar collections. Here are the several translations of the theme:

a) Ahiqar Syr Berlin 165, no.55:[15]

בינת אילין דנצין לא תקום
מטל דמן גוחכא הויא מצותא
ומן מצותא הוא תכתושא
ומן תכתושא הוא קטלא

Among those who quarrel do not stand,
for from laughter there comes quarrel,
and from quarrel there comes fighting,
and from fighting there comes killing.

b) Ahiqar Syr BM Add 7200, no.8:[16]

בביתא דאילין דנצין לא תקום
מטל דמן מלתא הויא מצותא
ומן מצותא מתתעיר שחקא
ומן שחקא הוא קטלא

In the house of those who quarrel do not stand,
for from a word there comes a quarrel,
and from a quarrel is stirred up vexation,
and from vexation comes killing.

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15 Text and translation: Nau, ROC 21 (1919) 148-160, saying no.55: pp. 154 & 159. For simplicity's sake I have transcribed the Syriac texts in Hebrew characters.

16 Conybeare et al., Ahiqar^2, saying no.8: pp. 35(Syr) & 100.

Shorter Syriac versions are Ahiqar Syr Berlin 134, no.81 and Syr Cambridge Add 2020, no.55.[17] The Slavonic and Arabic translations have variants of the longer version, and the Slavonic one is significant:

c) Ahiqar Slavonic, no.73:[18]

> If thou chance to be amongst menials, smile not as thou approachest them;[19] for a smile gives rise easily to a misunderstanding, and from a misunderstanding there springs a quarrel, and from a quarrel come mutual recriminations and scuffles, and scuffles may result in death, and death is the fulfilment of sin.

Like the Syriac version of Berlin Syr 165, the Slavonic rendering makes the point that laughter is easily misunderstood and considered insulting. The Slavonic version, moreover, speaks of "menials" ("Gesinde") that is to say, common people, as being prone to take offense, which is precisely the point that Ankhsheshonqy makes. The Slavonic version also adds a concluding judgment which, despite its Christian coloring, corresponds to Ankhsheshonqy's reference to divine judgment. All this indicates that the Slavonic text (translated from a lost Greek Ahiqar translation) preserved an Aramaic version which was very close to the version on which Ankhsheshonqy drew.

Above all, it is the form of the saying which points compellingly to an Ahiqar text known to and used by the Demotic author of the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy, a text which was also one of the bases of some of the Syriac and other translations. The form is that of the chain syllogism, that is to say, verbally and logically interlocking statements building up to a conclusion, a rhetorical figure known in Greek as a

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17 Syr Berlin 134, no.81: Grünberg, Achikar, p. 56; Syr Camb Add 2020, no.55: Conybeare et al., pp. 46(Syr) & 108.

18 Conybeare et al., pp. 1-9 English translation based on Jagić, BZ 1 (1892) 107-126; saying no.73: English tr. p. 7, German tr. BZ 1, 115.

19 Jagić, ibid.: "Wenn du dich unter dem Gesinde befindest, lache herantretend nicht."

sorites and often used in Greco-Roman moral philosophy.[20]

The "quarrel" topic continued to be quoted in still other variants. For example, Ahiqar Syr Berlin 134, no.69 (=Grünberg, Achikar, p. 52) has a much enlarged version in which the chain syllogism (laughter - anger - quarrel - killing) is followed by the old theme of having to testify in court, which we noted in classical Egyptian and Babylonian wisdom. And the Syriac Pseudo-Menander, believed to be translated from a Greek text composed in Egypt around 200 A.D., offers it thus:

> When there is a brawl in the street do not pass by, lest you get hurt. For if you try to separate them you will receive blows and your clothes will be torn. And if you stand by and watch you will be compelled to testify in court. Hence shun being beaten and refrain from giving false testimony.[21]

In the lines directly preceding this passage, Pseudo-Menander advises not to separate two quarreling brothers in a form virtually identical with that of Ankhsheshonqy 19/11-12, quoted above on p. 14:

> Do not come between brothers nor try to judge between them. If brothers quarrel what is it to you? Being brothers, they become reconciled and despise you in their thoughts.[22]

Our survey of the "quarrel" theme makes two points. First, the remarkable similarity between the classical Egyptian and Babylonian treatments, and second, the fully identical treatment of the theme in several Ahiqar versions and in Ankhsheshonqy. Now given the international status of Aramaic, and the enormous popularity of the Wisdom of Ahiqar, it is reasonable to conclude that, whatever the similarity in the earlier

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20 Exx. Seneca, Epistles 82.5; Sapientia Salomonis 6:17-21; Romans 5:3-5. For the use of this rhetorical figure in rabbinic wisdom see Fischel, Rabbinic Literature, 74ff. & 151f.

21 Text: Land, Anecdota Syriaca I, 67.10; translation: Audet, RB 59 (1952) p. 65, no.20.

22 Land, ibid. 67.7; Audet, ibid. p. 65, no.19.

periods may signify, the identical treatment in the Hellenistic age reveals Egypt in the role of recipient. This also means that Aramaic versions of Ahiqar posterior to the fifth century text, and closely resembling the Syriac and other versions of Christian times, were known to Demotic writers in Ptolemaic Egypt, that is to say, were known earlier than was indicated by the Roman-date Demotic fragments of Ahiqar which had already established the fact of its translation.[23] These results can be reinforced by additional comparisons.

1.2 Further Parallels

a) Ankhsh. 23/9:

n3-'n nk3 ḫm iw.f twt r nk3 '3 iw.f ḫr

Better is small wealth gathered than large wealth scattered.

Compare Ahiqar Syr Berlin 165, no.51=Syr Camb Add 2020, no.51:

טב מסכנותא דמכנשא מן עותרא דמבזר

Better is poverty that gathers than wealth that scatters.

Variants of the saying are Ahiqar Syr Berlin 134, no.64 and Ahiqar Armenian A, no.53.[24]

The saying belongs to the type known as "better"-proverbs; and that Ahiqar and Ankhsheshonqy are quoting the same proverb is underlined by the fact that in both texts it is accompanied by further "better"-proverbs that teach the same lesson.[25]

b) Ankhsh. 13/11:

m-ir mr w' i.ir-ḫr w' n3y.k ḫrdw bw-ir rḫ.k p3 nty iw.f n' n.k n-imw

Do not prefer one of your children to another; you do not know which of them will be kind to you.

Compare Ahiqar Syr Camb Add 2020, no.34:

לעבדך טב מן חברה לא תטאב

מטל דלא ידע אנת אינא מנהון מתבעא לך לחרתא

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23 See Zauzich in Folia Rara, 180-185.

24 English translation of Armenian A & B: Conybeare et al., 24-85; Arm A, no.53: p. 30.

25 On "better"-proverbs see below p. 36.

Treat not your slave better than his fellow,
for you know not which of them you will need in the end.

Despite minor differences this is the same saying and a striking one. The difference between the Demotic "children" and the Syriac "slaves" is not significant, for the several Ahiqar versions show varying traditions as well as corruptions: Syr Berlin 134, no.40 is garbled, and Armenian A, no.42 has: "Love not your son better than your servant, for you do not know which of them will be useful to you." It is also possible that the basic Aramaic text had used a term which meant both "boy" and "servant/slave," as is the case for Aramaic 'ulema, Hebrew na'ar, and Greek pais, and the translators selected one or the other meaning.

c) Ankhsh. 10/7:

Drp.k r rt.k n 'wy n rmt '3 bn-iw drp.k r ls.k
You may trip over your foot in the house of a great man,
you should not trip over your tongue.

Compare Ahiqar Syr Berlin 165, no.54:

לא תפוק מלתא מן פומך עדמא דאתמלך בלבך

מטל דטב לגברא דמתתקל ברגלה מן דמתתקל בלשנה

Release not your word from your mouth until it is examined in your heart; for it is better for a man to trip with his foot than to trip with his tongue.

There are many variants of this saying in Ahiqar: Syr Camb Add 2020, no.53; Syr Berlin 134, no.59; Ethiopic, no.13; Arabic, no.45. It was a truly international proverb, for in addition to its use in Ankhsheshonqy and Ahiqar, Ben Sira 20:18 cites it as:"Better a slip on the stone floor than a slip of the tongue", and it is attested in Greek as a saying attributed to Zeno by Diogenes Laertius:[26]

ἔλεγέ τε κρεῖττον εἶναι τοῖς ποσὶν ὀλισθεῖν ἢ τῇ γλώττῃ.

See also the variation on the theme in Ankhsheshonqy 23/10.

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26 Vitae Philosophorum VII.26 = von Arnim, SVF I, 70 no.329; see also Smend, Achikar-Roman, 71-74.

d) Ankhsh. 13/16:

m-ir wn ḥ3ṯ.k r t3y.k ḥm.t n3 ḏd.k n.s st p3 ḫyr
Do not open your heart to your wife; what you have spoken to her is for the street.

Compare Ahiqar Arm B, no.62:

Condescend with thy wife, but reveal not to her thy secrets; for she cannot keep a word in her heart, but reveals it to her neighbours.[27]

e) Ankhsh. 18/7-8:

iir rmt ḫm ḏd iw.i ḫtb.ṯ.k iw.f ḫtb.ṯ.k n m3'.t
iir rmt '3 ḏd iw.i ḫtb.ṯ.k my ḏ3ḏ3.k ḥr t3y.f pn'3.t
If a poor man says "I will kill you," he will surely kill you.
If a rich man says "I will kill you," lay your head on his doorstep.

Compare Ahiqar Arm B, no.132:

Say not to the poor man "You can never do me harm,"
for from the most abject of men proceed many harms,
and not from those who are held in honour.[28]

The last two parallels are not as verbally close as the previous ones, but the thoughts are identical and not commonplace, and therefore likely to have had a shared source. Further parallels between the two works belong to more common topics where the possibility of independent formulation is greater. Such are:

f) Ankhsh. 21/18-19:

Do not violate a married woman.
He who violates a married woman on the bed will have his wife violated on the ground.

In Ahiqar Syr Camb Add 2020, no.6 and Arm A, no.39 it reads:

Do not violate the wife of your neighbor, lest others violate your wife.[29]

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27 Conybeare et al., p. 62; also Arm A, no.74, p. 32.
28 Ibid. p. 67.
29 Ibid. pp. 40(Syr) & 103, and 29.

g) The precept to honor the old. In Ankhsh. 20/18 it reads:

> Honor the old men in your heart, and you will be honored in the hearts of all men.

Compare Ahiqar Arm B, no.80:

> Whenever thou beholdest an aged man, do thou rise and stand up before him and magnify him; and when thou growest old, others will do the same to thee.[30]

The theme was common to all ancient wisdom and was elaborated in various ways, including the negative precept "not to deride old people," which we encountered on the Petrie Ostracon No. 11 and which recurs in Ankhsheshonqy 7/22, Ben Sira 8:6, and Pseudo-Menander, no.2, all in very similar terms.

h) So also, the advice to carry a weapon on the road is found in Ankhsheshonqy 17/14 and Ahiqar Syr Camb Add 2020, no.27, with variants in Ahiqar Syr Berlin 134, no.34, Syr Berlin 165, no.30, Arm A, no.19, and Slavonic, no.27. The advice as such is too commonplace to indicate borrowing. Yet given the basic interconnection between Ahiqar and Ankhsheshonqy, the marginal parallels do not seem fortuitous.

1.3 Conclusions and a Question

1) The author of the Demotic Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy was familiar with the Aramaic Wisdom of Ahiqar in a version (or versions) which stood much closer to the Syriac and other translations than to the fifth century text from Elephantine.

2) In the Sayings of Ahiqar the Demotic writer had a model for an anthologizing type of wisdom in which individual precepts were loosely strung together in shorter or longer sequences and without an overall order, though some rudiments of organization may have been present.

3) The Demotic writer took over individual precepts and proverbs with little change.

4) It is probable that the Demotic writer was also familiar with the Ahiqar Story, and that his own introductory narra-

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30 Ibid. p. 64.

tion owed something to it, especially the motif of the sage as prisoner. The Demotic ostraca with Ahiqar fragments mentioned above (p. 18) are pieces of the Story.

5) The precepts of Ahiqar were formulated in a standard prose which employed various types of sentences and created connections between them by means of the common conjunctions.

6) The prose of Ankhsheshonqy differs from that of Ahiqar by its avoidance of conjunctions, thus maintaining the independence of the monostich even where several sentences were logically connected.

7) In Mesopotamian collections of precepts and proverbs, and in Hellenistic Greek gnomologia, the Demotic writer could have found models for his monostichic type of anthology. Was he acquainted with works of either or both literatures?

2. Gnomic Collections, Mesopotamian and Greek

2.1 Mesopotamian Collections

In his outstanding work on Babylonian Wisdom Literature, Lambert distinguished between "Precepts and Admonitions," "Popular Sayings," and "Proverbs."[31] For our purposes it is significant that in all three groups one finds an abundance of monostichic sayings interspersed among longer passages, the latter consisting of interconnected sentences. The single sayings are often proverbs, and actual collections of proverbs are a characteristic genre in Mesopotamian literature in its several phases.

The Babylonian Counsels of Wisdom, from which we have cited the advice "not to quarrel," extends over some hundred and sixty lines in which Lambert recognized ten distinct topics.[32] In each topic there occur single sentences alongside interconnected ones. Stylistically, therefore, the whole composition is very similar to the Wisdom of Ahiqar. Another type is

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31 Babylonian Wisdom Literature, chapters 4, 8, and 9.

32 Ibid. chapter 4, pp. 96ff.

the Advice to a Prince,[33] which is written in a different style inasmuch as every passage begins with a conditional clause. According to Lambert and other scholars, this form is an imitation of the style of omens. The first eight of these conditional sentences are short periods that warn the ruler in general terms against unjust rule, while the subsequent longer sections are concerned with specific acts. The eight sentences are remarkably similar to the sequence of thirteen conditional sentences in which Ankhsheshonqy proclaims the sun-god's anger with an unjustly ruled land. Here is the opening of the Babylonian Advice to a Prince in Lambert's translation:

(1) If a king does not heed justice, his people will be thrown into chaos, and his land will be devastated.
(2) If he does not heed the justice of his land, Ea, king of destinies, (3) will alter his destiny and will not cease from hostilely pursuing him.
(4) If he does not heed his nobles, his life will be cut short.
(5) If he does not heed his adviser, his land will rebel against him.
(6) If he heeds a rogue, the status quo in his land will change.
(7) If he heeds a trick of Ea, the great gods (8) in unison and in their just ways will not cease from prosecuting him.

In the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy the sequence on the sun-god's anger serves as transition from the introductory narration to the Instruction proper: Ankhsheshonqy's imprisonment is an injustice committed by the king, and such unjust action must arouse the wrath of Pre. After a broken line there follow these six lines (5/2-7):

[If] Pre is angry with a land, its ruler neglects the law.
If Pre is angry with a land, he makes law cease in it.
If Pre is angry with a land, he makes sanctity cease in it.
If Pre is angry with a land, he makes justice cease in it.
If Pre is angry with a land, he makes value scarce in it.

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33 Ibid. 110ff.

If Pre is angry with a land, he does not let one be trusting in it.
(There follow six more lines)

Lambert's section "Proverbs" contains an Assyrian Collection in which there occurs the following sequence:[34]

A people without a king (is like) sheep without a shepherd.
A people without a foreman (is like) water without a canal inspector.
Labourers without a supervisor (are like) a field without a ploughman.
A house without an owner (is like) a woman without a husband.

Here we have single sentences of a proverbial nature arranged in a quatrain. The same form, the quatrain of monostichs, is used several times in Ankhsheshonqy, for instance:

The waste of a house is not dwelling in it.
The waste of a woman is not knowing her.
The waste of a donkey is carrying bricks.
The waste of a boat is carrying straw. (20/22-25)

These are not exact correspondences, such as those between Ahiqar and Ankhsheshonqy, but they are thought-provoking. Given the fact that we are always dealing with the mere debris of what were vast literatures, such thematic and formal similarities are worth considering as suggesting possible connections between late Mesopotamian and late Egyptian wisdom. In particular, Demotic writers would have encountered in Mesopotamian wisdom literature a long established and ample use of the sapiential monostich.

2.2 Greek Gnomologia

In fourth century Greece, and increasingly thereafter in the Hellenistic world, the excerpting and collecting of outstanding sayings of Greek poets and philosophers became a major literary activity, which assumed several distinct though inter-

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34 Chapter 9, p. 232.

locking forms:

Classical works were excerpted as instructional material for the young.

The disciples of philosophers collected the works of their masters and culled their memorable sayings.

Moral philosophers made collections of prose and verse sayings for quotation in their own works.

Writers published anthologies of wise sayings attributed to famous men, or to certain groups and classes of persons.

Eminently quotable poets, notably Euripides and Menander, were anthologized.

Fables and chriai were collected for their moral lessons phrased in pointed dialogues and apophthegms.

Collections of genuine folk proverbs were made, though folk wisdom was not as highly appreciated as were the sayings attributed to sages.

Lastly, there came into being large florilegia of verses, culled for their literary value rather than for purposes of moral instruction.[35]

The anthologizing activity also affected the form of individual moral treatises. 1. Some treatises were so loaded with quotations as to become loose in structure. The now lost writings of the Stoic Chrysippus were said to have been thus overloaded, and the manner is apparent in some works of Plutarch, be they genuine or spurious. 2. Some moral treatises came to consist of minimally connected sequences of admonitory sayings arranged in short paragraphs. The Pseudo-Isocratean instructional speech Ad Demonicum is a famous early example.[36] 3. The ultimate form - personal thoughts of a moralist formulated in

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35 Basic surveys: Horna, Gnome, Gnomendichtung, Gnomologien, in PRE Suppl.6 (1935) 74-90; Delhaye, Florilèges spirituels, in Dict Spir 5 (1962) 435-478; Spoerri, Gnome, in Kleine Pauly 2 (1967) 823-829; Chadwick, Florilegium, in RAC 7 (1969) 1131-1160.

36 Wendland, Anaximenes von Lampsakos, chap.5: Die Rede an Demonikos. The recent study by Wefelmeier, Die Sentenzensammlung der Demonicea, was not available to me. See also Küchler, Weisheitstraditionen, 248-250.

aphorisms - is present in the reflections of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. 4. There was a blurring of the distinction between the work of an individual moralist and a compilation of moral sententiae attributed to a certain author. A popular collection of the latter kind was the Sentences of Sextus.[37] 5. The aphoristic trend affected moralizing poetry, such as that of Chares, and Phoinix of Colophon, the remnants of whose poetry show that they versified moral lessons in the form of short paragraphs.[38]

In a practical sense, the impetus for this vast anthologizing activity stemmed from the needs of an expanding school system and a growing reading public. Its deep and abiding impulse came, however, from the high valuation and serious appreciation of succinctly expressed wisdom, an appreciation both moral and aesthetic. In particular, it was Hellenistic philosophy, all schools of which now emphasized practical ethics, which played the decisive part in fostering gnomologia and thereby accommodating the public's taste for short and pithy wisdom sayings. In their great variety of forms, the gnomic collections and the logoi sophon reflected different levels of thought and taste, from the popular to the esoteric, from the trite to the lofty. And they fulfilled several functions: they provided material for the education of the young, practical guidance for the mature person in his conduct of life, guides to private reflection and self-improvement, and support and consolation in difficult circumstances.

To appreciate the great significance of the genre, it is well to remind oneself that, in its European revival, classical gnomologia was a powerful source of inspiration for the men of letters of the Renaissance.

In his magisterial survey of all aspects of gnomologia, Horna made this summation:

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37 See Kroll, die Sprüche des Sextus; Chadwick, The Sentences of Sextus.

38 Gerhard, Charetos Gnomai; idem, Phoinix von Kolophon. See also Küchler, Weisheitstraditionen, 246-248.

> So ergibt sich für die ganze hellenistische Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Altertums das Bild einer umfangreichen und für die geistige Gestalt der Zeit bedeutungsvollen Literatur, von der leider kein einziges vollständiges Werk in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt auf uns gekommen ist, wohl aber ein unübersehbares Trümmerfeld.[39]

Although most surviving specimens of Hellenistic Greek gnomologia have reached us in the reworked forms of Byzantine collections, the sands of Egypt have yielded sufficient scraps of the original works to establish the fact that such gnomic collections circulated widely in Greco-Roman Egypt. Two such collections must have been especially popular, for they were rendered into Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, and other languages: the Sententiae Menandri and the Sentences of Sextus. For our purposes, the recovery of relatively early Coptic translation fragments is most significant.[40]

What is shared by all collections of logoi sophon and makes of them a single genre despite differences in situation, intention, authorship, and level is the looseness of form.[41] The Sententiae Menandri, in iambic monostichs, grew to so many hundreds of sayings that their ultimate arrangement was simply alphabetic. It became an anthology with no claim to any structure or a consistent point of view. The Sentences of Sextus, on the other hand, is a short collection of mostly brief prose sentences, with a sprinkling of somewhat longer periods. Designed as a manual of self-improvement, it has a rudimentary thematic organization and a consistent point of view.

If the author of the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy had some knowledge of Hellenistic gnomologia, he would have found there models for his own manner of composition: the single-sentence

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39 PRE Suppl.6 (1935) col. 82.

40 The Sententiae Menandri in Coptic: Hagedorn/Weber, ZPE 3 (1968) 15-50. The Sextus Sentences in Coptic: NHC XII,1 = Pls. 85-102; English translation in The Nag Hammadi Library in English, 454-459.

41 Cf. Küchler, Weisheitstraditionen, 260f.

sayings; the culling of sayings from different sources; the simple devices for obtaining a minimum of order; and the freedom in the use or non-use of organizational devices. The basic looseness of form in Hellenistic gnomologia would have given him support, against possible hesitations, for his own unstructured composition by which he departed from Egyptian tradition. It must of course be kept in mind that this Instruction need not have been the first one to employ the new form. There could have been Demotic precursors. Furthermore, there probably existed Demotic collections of individual sayings to be drawn on for the fashioning of Instructions.

3. Ankhsheshonqy's Use of Proverbs

Yet another feature which Ankhsheshonqy shared with Ahiqar was the use of proverbs to illustrate precepts. We cannot, of course, always tell with assurance whether a generalization that has the look of a proverb was in fact a proverb. Nor can we readily distinguish folk proverbs from literary sayings. For our purposes, the latter distinction - the difference between "popular" and "learned" proverbs - is not significant. As to recognizing proverbs, there are two sound criteria: One, finding a saying of a proverbial type cited more than once, either within one culture or across more than one culture; two, finding it cited as "a saying," or "a saying of people." With these criteria in mind, one may discover that most of Ankhsheshonqy's identifiable proverbs were international ones.[42]

3.1 Seven International Proverbs

1) Ankhsh. 14/14:

p3 nty pḫs n pḫs n ḥf ḫr snty.ṯ.f ḥr ḥsy nwḥ
He who was bitten of the bite of a snake is afraid of a coil of rope.

The same proverb, identified as a "saying of people," is quoted

42 See also my article on Demotic Proverbs in the forthcoming volume Grammata Demotika, Festschrift Lüddeckens.

in Midrash Qohelet Rabba 7,4 and Midrash Shir ha-Shirim Rabba 1,14:

דנכית ליה חויא חבלא מדחיל ליה

He whom a snake has bitten, a rope frightens him.[43]

Its Greek version is preserved in a Byzantine collection of proverbs:

ὁ δηχθεὶς ὑπὸ ὄφεως καὶ τὸ σχοινίον φοβεῖται

One bitten by a snake fears even a rope.[44]

2) Ankhsh. 11/10:

p3 nty ty šm tf3 r t3 pt iir.f hy r-ḥr.f

He who sends spittle to the sky, upon his face it falls.

The identical saying is quoted in Midrash Qohelet Rabba 7,21:

דרקק לעיל על אפוי נפל

He who spits upwards, upon his face it falls.

It also existed in several Greek versions, e.g.:

ὁ πτύων εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰ γένεια τοῦ πτύει

Who spits toward heaven bespits his beard.[45]

3) Ankhsh. 22/5:

p3 nty nyn n p3 iny iir.f hy r-ḥr rt.ṯ.f

He who shakes the stone, upon his foot it falls.

This well-known proverb occurs in Proverbs 26:27, Qohelet 10:9, and Ben Sira 27:25, alongside the even more famous proverb of the pit. The latter is also cited by Ankhsheshonqy, but not in this context, and the line is now broken:

4) Ankhsh. 26/21:

p3 nty šty št------.

He who digs a pit ------.

Another Demotic scribe quoted it in the Petubastis story:

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43 This is one of several proverbs in Ankhsheshonqy which were first identified by Stricker in his article Egyptische Spreekwoorden, OMRO 50 (1969) 17-18.

44 Krumbacher, SBAW 1900, p. 414, no. 119.

45 Krumbacher, SBAW 1893/ii, pp. 84 and 163f., no. 29; also Crusius, RhM 42 (1887) p. 400, no. 9.

p3 nty šty šti.t bn.t iir.f hy ḫn.s
He who digs an evil pit falls into it.[46]

It is also cited at the very end of Ahiqar as the moral to be drawn from the death of the wicked Nadan:

He that digs a pit for his fellowman fills it with his own person.[47]

5) Ankhsh. 23/23:

m-ir swr mw ḫnm.t mtw.k ḫwy krl r-r.s
Do not drink water of a well and then throw the pitcher into it.[48]

Its Aramaic form, cited as a "saying of people," is found in BT Baba Qamma 92b:

בירא דשתית מיניה מיא לא תשדי ביה קלא

A well from which you drank water, do not cast a clod into it.

In the Hebrew version of Midrash Bamidbar Rabba 22,4, "clod" has been replaced by "stone," and in Midrash Shemot Rabba 20,1 the saying has been turned into a rhetorical question:

יש אדם שותה מן הבאר ומשליך אבן לתוכה
Is there a man who drinks from the well and throws a stone into it?

The thought was familiar to the Greeks:

It is impious to destroy food when we have ourselves eaten enough, or to blind and conceal a spring as soon as we have had our fill of its flow.[49]

6) Ankhsh. 18/10:

p3 nty iw 3yḥ irm n3 p3y.f tmy iw.f n3-wpy.t irm.w
He who battles together with the people of his town will rejoice together with them.

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46 Spiegelberg, Petubastis, 26-27 = Pap. Spiegelberg XI, 22f.; noted by Stricker, OMRO 50 (1969) 17.

47 Conybeare et al., Syr Camb Add 2020, pp. 72(Syr) & 127, and Arm B, p. 85.

48 Noted by Stricker, OMRO 50, 18.

49 Plutarch, Quaestiones Convivales VII.4.703B.

This recurs in a Hebrew version in BT Ta'anith 2a:[50]

כל המצער עצמו עם הצבור זוכה ורואה בנחמת צבור

He who shares the sorrow of the community is worthy to see the rejoicing of the community.

7) Ankhsh. 19/10:

i.iry mt.t nfr.t r.ḫwy r p3 mte iw.f 'ḫm iw.k gm.ṯ.s
Do a good deed and cast it in the flood; when it dries you will find it.

This is essentially the same saying as Qohelet 11:1:

Cast your bread upon the water,
for after many days you will find it.

Subsequently, the biblical verse is found in Greek, Arabic, and Turkish versions, and in German it was rhymed by Goethe:

Thust du was Gutes, wirf es ins Meer,
Sieht es der Fisch nicht, sieht's doch der Herr.[51]

3.2 The Golden Rule

All the seven international proverbs here examined embody reflections on the causal order as manifest in the principles of reciprocity and retaliation. Observations on these principles constitute the most pervasive theme of the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy. Besides illustrating them by proverbs such as those cited above, the Demotic scribe enlarged on them in many other precepts and generalizations. He viewed reciprocity under its positive and negative aspects: as reward and as punishment, as deeds to be done and deeds to be avoided. He advised do ut des, he advised to shun vengeance, and he asserted with confidence that retribution was a universal law:

1) Do ut des:

Serve a wise man, that he may serve you.

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50 Noted by Stricker, OMRO 50, 18.

51 Cited from Lewy, Philologus 58 (1899) 80f., no. 11. May the saying of Ankhsheshonqy help to refute the currently fashionable interpretation that Qohelet here gave the advice to ship merchandise over the seas for profit.

Serve him who serves you.
Serve any man, that you may be useful. (Ankhsh. 6/3-5)

2) Shun vengeance:
Do not retaliate, do not let one retaliate against you. (Ankhsh. 12/16)

3) The law of retribution:
There is none who insults his superior who is not in turn insulted.
There is none who abandons his travel companion whom the god does not hold to account for it.
There is none who engages in deceit who is not deceived. (Ankhsh. 21/9-11)

The last three sayings form a chain together with several more of the same type. But in keeping with the general haphazardness of the text, most of the sayings on the topic of retaliation are scattered. Thus we twice encounter the Golden Rule, in its negative form, without an appropriate context:

a) Do not do evil to a man so as to cause another to do it to you. (Ankhsh. 12/6)

b) Do not do to a man what you hate so as to cause another to do it to you. (Ankhsh. 15/23)

The appearance of the Golden Rule might be viewed as an especially telling indication of the extent to which Demotic scribes shared in international proverbial wisdom; for the Rule was quoted throughout the Hellenistic world. In a wide-ranging study, A. Dihle has examined the Golden Rule in its principal aspects: its origin, its character, its diffusion, and its ultimate insufficiency.[52] Regarding its formulation and diffusion, he has suggested that its earliest known textual appearance is in Herodotus 3,142 (also 7,136), that it was thereafter much employed by Greek writers, and that it was

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52 Dihle, Die Goldene Regel, especially 81ff.: Die Goldene Regel in der Typologie des Vergeltungsdenkens. On the occurrence of the Golden Rule in Sanskrit literature see L. Sternbach, JAOS 101 (1981) 97ff., especially 121f.

widely adopted among the peoples of the Hellenistic world. Discussing its appearance in Judaism, Dihle noted that prior to its earliest known occurrences (in the Aristeas Letter 207 and in Tobit 4:15) there had existed biblical precepts in the spirit of the Golden Rule - and similar precepts in other ancient Near Eastern wisdom - but not the abstract formulation of the Rule itself. This led him to reason

> "dass die Goldene Regel wirklich ein Zeugnis für eine Art der Abstraktion und Generalisierung darstellt, die dem jüdischen Denken ursprünglich fremd war und von ihm erst im Verlaufe der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Hellenismus rezipiert wurde ..." (p. 83)

He concluded that Hellenistic Judaism consciously and avidly adopted the Greek formula:

> "Die Goldene Regel erweist sich also innerhalb des Judentums als eine aus dem Griechischen stammende, aber begierig angenommene und innerhalb kürzester Frist fest eingebürgerte Neuerung. Sie muss im Laufe des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. rezipiert worden sein." (p. 84)

Now if the Golden Rule, in the Aramaic version cited by Hillel (BT Shabbat 31a) דעליך סני לחברך לא תעביד "What is hateful to you, do not do to your fellowman," was indeed the transposition of a Greek formulation current in the Hellenistic world, for instance in the form attributed to the sage Pittakos,[53] ὅσα νεμεσᾷς τῷ πλησίον αὐτὸς μὴ ποίει, the appearance of the Golden Rule in Ankhsheshonqy could be explained as yet another loan from Aramaic proverbial wisdom. Once again Ahiqar could have been the source, for the Rule is preserved in the two Armenian translations, in the negative and positive forms, respectively.[54] The negative form, "That which seems evil unto thee do not do to thy companion," is comparable to Ankhsheshonqy's negative versions. Yet it seems to me that there are dif-

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53 In the collection of Sayings of the Seven Sages, made by Demetrius of Phalerum; see Snell, Leben und Meinungen der Sieben Weisen, 106.

54 Conybeare et al., pp. 34 and 62: Arm A, no.88 and Arm B, no.53.

ficulties in positing an Egyptian adaptation of an Aramaic, and originally Greek, formula. The difficulties arise, first, from the form in which Ankhsheshonqy cites the Golden Rule, and second, from the existence of kindred formulations in earlier Egyptian wisdom.

What is striking about Ankhsheshonqy's formulations of the Golden Rule (in 12/6 and 15/23) is that they explicitly maintain the causal connection between action and reaction and are therefore virtually identical with his observations on the working of retaliation. Among those sayings we found the precept, "Do not retaliate, do not let one retaliate against you" (12/16). Is this not just another way of saying, "Do not do evil to a man so as to cause another to do it to you."? (12/6). If the latter is the Golden Rule, is the former a more rudimentary form of it? Given their closeness, it is difficult to envisage that formulations of the principle of retaliation were native Egyptian products, while the Golden Rule was a foreign import. Perhaps the first minting of the Golden Rule had been done in Greek, but only perhaps. For its degree of abstraction (Dihle's criterion) does not appear higher than that of Egyptian formulations of the do ut des principle which were in use since the Middle Kingdom:

1. Do for him who does for you (ir n ir(r) n.k). (Eloquent Peasant B2.108)
2. Do for the doer to make him do (ir n ir(r) r rdit ir.f). (Eloquent Peasant B1.109-110)
3. It benefits the doer more than him for whom it is done (3ḫ n irr r irrw n.f). (Florence stela 1540=2590)
4. He who will do will be one for whom one will do (wnn ir r irw n.f). (de Meulenaere, BIFAO 63, 1965, 33-36)

These ancient formulae deal with the positive side of reciprocity. Formulations of the negative aspects - retaliation and retribution - proliferated in late Egyptian wisdom, as they did in the other wisdom literatures in the Hellenistic age. They drew the distinction between the wrongness of human retaliation and the rightness of divine retribution. It is in this

general context that the Golden Rule appears in Ankhsheshonqy, as a variant of the warning against retaliation. Ankhsheshonqy, moreover, drew the fundamental moral from the observation of retaliation in a formulation remarkably penetrating and abstract: "It is to its doer that the deed happens." (26/10) Phrased concretely, this was of course the lesson of the pictorial proverb of the pit and its likes. But I know no parallel to its stripped abstract form here in Ankhsheshonqy. In the Mishna tractate Aboth, Jewish wisdom says it more concretely: "According to the labor is the reward"; and: "The reward of virtue is virtue, the reward of sin is sin." (Aboth 5,26 and 4,2). The latter formulation has a close parallel in Ahiqar's concluding paragraph: "To him who does good, good is requited, and to him who does evil, evil is requited."[55]

3.3 The Role of Proverbs

In what manner and for what purpose did Ankhsheshonqy cite proverbs? These are his methods:

1) A proverb illustrates a precept:

> Do not be impatient when you suffer so as to beg for death.
> He who is alive, his herb grows. (Ankhsh. 19/15-16)

We know that the saying was a proverb because it recurs in Krugtext B.11.[56]

2) A proverb clinches two related precepts:

> Do not kill a snake and then leave its tail.
> Do not hurl a lance if you cannot control its aim.
> He who sends spittle to the sky, upon his face it falls.
> (Ankhsh. 11/8-10)

3) Two kindred proverbs are cited without a larger context:

> It is better to dwell in your small house than to dwell in the large house of another.

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55 Conybeare et al., Ahiqar Syr Camb Add 2020, pp. 72(Syr) and 127.

56 Spiegelberg, Krugtexte, 18f.

> Better is small wealth gathered than large wealth scattered. (Ankhsh. 23/8-9)

We have found the second of these "better"-proverbs in Ahiqar (see above p. 18). In Ahiqar it forms part of a large cluster of "better"-proverbs.[57]

4) Single proverbs without context. The two "better"-proverbs just cited are followed by:

> A slip of the tongue at the royal palace is a slip of the helm at sea. (Ankhsh. 23/10)

There are more instances of such random quotation of single proverbs, the randomness being characteristic of the work as a whole.

5) Yet another manner of citing proverbs seems especially revealing, namely when the writer paired a pithy proverb with an undistinguished precept:

> Do not often clean yourself with water only.
> Water grinds the stone. (Ankhsh. 17/12-13)

Here we have an international proverb: "Water wears away the stones," (Job 14:19) = "Gutta cavat lapidem," (Ovid, Epistulae ex Ponto IV.10.5)[58] and less tersely in Plutarch: "Drops of water make hollows in rocks." (De liberis educandis 2D). In Job and in Ovid the proverb is cited to illustrate that steady and persistent action will wear down the strongest resistance, while Plutarch used it in the positive sense: the effectiveness of diligence. But Ankhsheshonqy's trite precept, "Do not wash with water only," fails to lead up to the proverb's basic meaning. Thus it seems that the Demotic writer, wishing to cite a proverb that appealed to him, invented an accompanying precept which fitted only superficially.

What, then, is the role of proverbs in this Instruction?

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57 An analysis of "better"-proverbs was made by Bryce in SBL, 108th annual meeting, 1972, Seminar papers II, 343-354; see also my article Demotic Proverbs in the forthcoming Grammata Demotika.

58 Noted by Stricker, OMRO 50, 17.

With some being quoted to illustrate precepts, and others cited singly or in pairs, what intention guided their inclusion? Formally, there is no distinction between proverbial sayings and other general statements. But by sometimes quoting proverbs without a context the Demotic scribe gave us a clue from which we may infer that he quoted them because he appreciated and enjoyed them as "fine sayings," sayings that were well formulated, pithy, and elegant in their succinctness. And indeed, despite the modern scholar's inadequate understanding of the ancient language, we can observe in this Instruction both a variety of sentence types and an abundance of sharply pointed phrases which have that very quality of elegant succinctness that must have delighted the ancient writers. The appreciation of fine speech had of course a long tradition in Egypt. What is new is the display of rhetorical skill in the framework of single sentences. Naturally, we are not able to identify all the proverbs in the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy; but our investigation has turned up a significant number of pithy sayings that were popular international adages.

4. Ankhsheshonqy's Principal Themes

4.1 The Cause-and-Effect Relationship

We have seen that Ankhsheshonqy quotes several proverbs on the twin themes of reciprocity and retaliation. They taught that to every human action there is an appropriate reaction; and from this the Golden Rule drew the conclusion that man must deal fairly with his fellowmen. Now it is an axiom of current scholarship that in all ancient Near Eastern thought - and not only there - the connection between the deed and its effect on the doer was viewed as fixed and certain, since it derived directly from the order of the world, an order which was one and the same in the cosmic and in the human sphere.[59] However,

59 E.g. von Rad, Weisheit in Israel, 208: "Der uns geläufige Dualismus von menschlicher Gesellschaftsordnung einerseits und von Naturordnung andrerseits war ja den Alten unbekannt."

when the late phases of wisdom literatures are discussed, there is no consensus on whether and how this original certainty had been modified. And Demotic wisdom, insufficiently known, has been viewed only in terms of certain statements in Papyrus Insinger. There has been a tendency to interpret the prominent role that "retaliation" plays in PInsinger as signifying the abandonment of the old unquestioning belief in a right order in which every action is followed by an appropriate response, and its replacement by a deliberate and dogmatic affirmation of an order made manifest through divine retaliation.[60]

The Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy does not lend support to the opinion that the old certainty had been undermined. Instead it conveys the impression that the old certainties were now being articulated in numerous formulations, the new sententiousness being characteristic of late Egyptian wisdom. When one sifts the many sayings that deal with cause and effect there emerge certain lines of thought.

1. There is a firm conviction that evil deeds turn against the doer. In addition to the proverbs cited, there are many sayings that make this point. A few examples:

A thief steals by night; he is found by day.
(Ankhsh. 14/11)
Do not commit theft; you will be found out.
(Ankhsh. 15/14)
He who is patient in a bad situation will not be harmed by it.
He who steals from the property of another will not profit by it. (Ankhsh. 14/6-7)
Do not be a hindrance often, lest you be reviled.
Do not get drunk often, lest you rave. (Ankhsh. 11/5-6)

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60 Schmid, Weisheit, 70: "Die Selbstverständlichkeit des Tat-Ergehen-Zusammenhanges its geschwunden. ... Was fraglos Ausdruck einer ganzheitlichen Welterfahrung war, muss jetzt als credendum behauptet werden. Aus dem Zusammenhang von Tat und Ergehen des archaischen Weltverständnisses wird unter dem Druck der gewandelten Bewusstseinsstruktur ein Vergeltungsdogma."

These sayings are matter-of-fact statements of realities that are deemed self-evident and require no reference to God, or fate, or retribution. It is also noteworthy that in the last pair of sayings society's disapproval of anti-social behavior is placed on a par with the human body's disapproval of drunkenness. Both are manifestations of the same causality that governs nature and society.

2. The deed-and-result connection derives from an overall order for which the Demotic writer had no word. The old term for cosmic order, maat, is not used in Demotic Instructions. God himself appears in the role of avenger of evil-doing, but there is no attempt to systematize and explicate the divine intervention or the deity's larger role as guarantor of cosmic order:

> There is no tooth that rots yet stays in place.
> There is no Nubian who leaves his skin.
> There is no friend who passes away alone.
> There is no wise man who finds loss.
> There is no fool who finds profit.
> There is none who insults his superior who is not in turn insulted.
> There is none who abandons his travel companion whom the god does not hold to account for it. (Ankhsh. 21/4-10)

The identity of the natural order and the moral order, and the certainty of the deed-and-result process, are brought out emphatically in this integrated sequence which included several more sentences. God is mentioned just once as the judge who calls the evil-doer to account. The stress is on the unfailing working of the causal order within which retaliation operates as guarantor of the social order. The analogy of the rotten tooth makes clear that requital of good and bad deeds was a function of the wider causal order that governed all creatures and all things.

3. If this miscellaneous and little-organized Instruction can be said to have one leading theme, it is the cause-and-effect relationship, in which several aspects stood out. Causality was not only linear and certain, it was also multiple,

reversible, and contingent. Multiple causality:

> The builders build houses, the musicians inaugurate them.
> The oxen harvest the barley and emmer, the donkeys eat it.
> (Ankhsh. 23/19 & 21)

Reversible causality:

> There is imprisonment for giving life.
> There is release for killing.
> There is one who saves and does not find.
> All are from the hand of the fate and the god.
> (Ankhsh. 26/5-8)

Contingency and fate:

> Man does not know his days of need.
> (Ankhsh. 12/3)
> May your fate not be the fate of one who begs and is given.
> (Ankhsh. 8/14)
> The plans of the god are one thing, the thoughts [of men] are another. (Ankhsh. 26/14)

4. If the writer had no terms for "order" and "causality," he also had none for the "nature of things." Yet one senses that he was especially interested in the connection between cause-and-effect and the innate character of living creatures and of substances:

> A snake that is eating has no venom. (Ankhsh. 20/13)
> A monkey that loves fruit hates him who eats it.
> "Your word is my word," says the weakling.
> (Ankhsh. 23/15-16)
> Beer matures only on its mash.
> Wine matures as long as one does not uncover it.
> (Ankhsh. 19/22-23)

5. Man stood squarely within the causal order and affected it through his deeds and his character. Demotic Instructions employ the new term <u>3my.t</u> for "character," in the place of the several Middle Egyptian words that had been in use. It is noteworthy that Ankhsheshonqy extends the use of the term so as to make it apply to the particular natures of certain kinds

of animals:

> If a woman loves a crocodile she takes on its character. (Ankhsh. 22/8)

6. The proper human response to the universal network of causal interconnections was prudence, foresight, consistency, and the recognition of man's limited understanding and even more limited foreknowledge. On the need for these qualities and responses Ankhsheshonqy offers a large number of precepts and generalizations, some of them witty and even cynical: The need for prudence and consistency:

> Do not do a thing that you have not first examined. (Ankhsh. 8/4)
> Do not ask advice from the god and then pass by what he said. (Ankhsh. 16/14)
> Do not scorn a document that has a claim on you. (Ankhsh. 9/5)
> Do not belittle a small document, a small fire, a small soldier. (Ankhsh. 16/25)
> He who scorns matters often will die of it. (Ankhsh. 9/9)

A cynical joke about the value of legal documents:

> If you are powerful throw your documents into the river; if you are weak throw them also. (Ankhsh. 18/6)

And another about the value of prudence:

> The prudent killer does not get killed. (Ankhsh. 12/20)

No matter that the jokes conflict with the earlier warnings.

7. We have seen that retaliation was viewed as embedded in the natural order and as lying specifically in the hands of the judging deity. In consequence, man was enjoined to refrain from retaliating:

> Do not retaliate, do not let one retaliate against you. (Ankhsh. 12/16)
> Do not say "The enemy of the god is alive today"; look to the end. (Ankhsh. 11/21)

In these sayings, and in the formulations of the Golden Rule, the validity of retaliation is limited. "Vengeance belongs to God" had been taught in the New Kingdom Instruction of Amenemope and is the sum of Ankhsheshonqy's thinking as well. Hence it does not appear that we have here a dogmatic teaching on retaliation, such as has been ascribed especially to Papyrus Insinger (to which we shall come). It looks more like an increase in differentiations; and the use of the vernacular encouraged the proliferation of pithy formulations which gave shape to a more refined thinking as well as to different levels of thought.

8. Indeed, the mixture of different levels of thought is a characteristic feature of this anthologizing Instruction. It is perhaps most apparent in the several teachings on reciprocity and right action. The Instruction had begun with the teaching of do ut des. But on later pages the right way of doing good is enjoined in terms of a much loftier morality:

> Do not say "I did this good deed to this man, but he did not acknowledge it to me."
> There is no good deed except the good deed that you have done to him who has need of it. (Ankhsh. 15/5-6)
> If you do good to a hundred men and one of them acknowledges it, no part of it is lost. (Ankhsh. 14/9)
> Do a good deed and cast it in the flood; when it dries you will find it. (Ankhsh. 19/10)

These sayings make two points. First, that the good deed is the deed that answers to a precise need; second, that even unacknowledged and unrequited, the good deed has an enduring value. Here, the principle of retaliation, including the Golden Rule, is entirely set aside, while the implied divine order is firmly upheld.

To sum up. The many sayings on causal order in this Instruction reflect a cluster of beliefs and insights. Their base is a differentiated conception of the divinely established order. From it derive a number of deductions and expectations: 1. Good and bad deeds create commensurate responses in terms of rewards and punishments. 2. When these expectations are

disappointed, the failure is accounted for by man's lack of overall understanding and foreknowledge. 3. The individual natures of beings determine the shape and course of their actions and responses. 4. Wisdom lies in observing the network of interconnections. 5. Human relations are governed by reciprocity; but this does not mean that man should seek retaliation, nor should he seek rewards; for both belong to God.

4.2 Four Topics with International Connections

A. Gracious Giving

B. Wise Men and Fools

C. Good and Bad Women

D. Wealth and Poverty

A. Gracious Giving

We have just cited three sayings that teach the enduring value of good deeds. Their novelty lies in the explicit formulations rather than a new attitude, for the classical Instructions had also insisted on generosity and had castigated avarice and greed. What they had not done was to reflect on the nature and modes of doing good and on the concept of gratitude. The sayings cited above are comments on the nature of good deeds, while the one now to be considered is a precept on the manner of doing good:

> Give your words with your goods and it will make two gifts. (Ankhsh. 19/21)

Here we encounter the theme of "gracious giving," a theme treated extensively in Hellenistic moral philosophy within the larger context of "benefactions."[61] And both Ben Sira and the

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61 If Seneca's famous treatise De beneficiis is the only survivor of this large class of writings, there yet remain many maxims on right giving scattered in speeches, letters, comedies, and gnomic collections. Seneca's treatise dwells on the three interlocking aspects of giving, receiving, and returning. He stressed that the noblest giving is that which expects no return and, conversely, that a grateful recipient will hasten to make a return.

Syriac Pseudo-Menander offer aphorisms on gracious giving that are practically identical with the Demotic formulation:

> A word is better than a good present,
> but a generous man is ready with both. (Ben Sira 18:17)

> A word enhances a gift: קוררבנא (sic) משפר מלא
> (Pseudo-Menander no.46)

Ankhsheshonqy has still another saying on doing good, and that is one whose meaning is not so readily apparent:

> rmt i.irw n.f mt.t nfr.t r-ḫ3.t bn-iw.f rḫ ty šp n.s
> A man to whom a good deed was done in the past cannot repay it. (Ankhsh. 13/3)

On the face of it, this statement runs counter to experience, for everyone must have known instances in which a person who had been helped by another repaid his benefactor at a later date. Why then could a "past" benefaction not be repaid? Probably because of the widespread notion that there was a truly right time (kairos) for returning favors, and this meant a quick response. On this the Sententiae Menandri are eloquent:

> χάριν λαβὼν εὔκαιρον ἐν καιρῷ δίδου
> Bestow in season boons in season given. (Sent. Men. 746)[62]

> ὡς μέγα τὸ μικρόν ἐστιν ἐν καιρῷ δοθέν
> Like great 's the small if given in season due.[63]
> (Sent. Men. 752)

> Bis dat qui cito dat. (Latin proverb)

> χάριν φίλοις εὔκαιρον ἀπόδος ἐν μέρει
> Friends' favors call for timely and due return.
> (Sent. Men. 790)

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62 Cited according to the edition of Edmonds, The Fragments of Attic Comedy IIIb: Menander (1961) 900-989.

63 An earlier Greek version was the saying of Democritus: μικραὶ χάριτες ἐν καιρῷ μέγισται τοῖς λαμβάνουσι,
Small boons in season are the greatest to the recipients.
Democritus Fragments, no. 94 = Diels/Kranz, Vorsokratiker, II, 162.

On the other hand, generous giving asks for no return:

χάριν λαβὼν μέμνησο καὶ δοὺς ἐπιλάθου

Favors received remember, given forget. (Sent. Men. 749)

In sum, Ankhsheshonqy's sayings on the right manner of giving and returning benefactions are so closely matched by Hellenistic Greek and Near Eastern sayings as to suggest not only shared views but also shared gnomic formulations of a current popular topic.

B. Wise Men and Fools

Binary thinking, complementary and antithetical, was basic to Egyptian thought at all times. It played its part in the classical Instructions; but not until the Instruction of Amenemope did sapiential thinking attempt to group the descriptions of good and bad behavior around two central human types: the "silent man" and the "heated man." In this respect as in some others, Amenemope appears to have been seminal for the Instructions of the Late Period. In Demotic wisdom the tendency to subsume all good and bad actions under two human character types is carried out - incompletely and haphazardly in Ankhsheshonqy, fully and systematically in Papyrus Insinger. The contrasted pair is now the "wise man" and the "fool," to which PInsinger adds a second pair which enlarges on them: the pious and the impious person. Both texts employ the term rmt-rḫ for the "wise man," and use three different words for the "fool": lḫ, rmt-swg, ḥne.

In accordance with his bent toward practical advice and pictorial language, Ankhsheshonqy has little concern with systematic definitions of the wise and the foolish, beyond pointing out that the wise are prudent, circumspect, willing to learn and ready to ask advice, while fools hate learning, reject advice, and act mindlessly. In most of his sayings the two types are contrasted in specific situations. And when one examines these situational confrontations one discovers once again that the Demotic writer was employing internationally shared topoi. These are: a) Carrying out commissions; b) The company you keep; c) The value of silence; d) Fools hate instruction.

a) Carrying out commissions

1) Do not send a wise man in a small matter when a big matter is waiting.
Do not send a fool in a big matter when there is a wise man whom you can send. (Ankhsh. 6/13-14)

2) A fool who has no concern gives concern to him who sends him. (PInsinger 14/7)

3) The patience of a fool is such that when his master sends him he who has sent him must go after him. (PInsinger 21/22)

4) Send a wise man and give him no orders; and if you send a fool, go yourself and send him not. (Ahiqar Syr Camb Add 2020, no.41 = Syr Berlin 165, no.38. Similarly, Syr Berlin 134, no.47; Arm A, no.65; Arm B,no.116; Slav, no.50) See also Prov 13:17.

On this topic, PInsinger agrees more closely with Ahiqar than does Ankhsheshonqy. In any case, the correspondences are so close as to indicate a shared sapiential theme.

b) The company you keep, or "like to like"

To this commonplace of ancient wisdom Aristotle devoted a paragraph in his Rhetoric (I,1371b.12) and quoted several proverbs, including "birds of a feather flock together," literally "jackdaw to jackdaw," a proverb also cited by Ben Sira (27:9, also 13:15f.). Its applications are various. Ankhsheshonqy employed it for the sage/fool dichotomy, and this is also one of its main uses in Aramaic and biblical wisdom:

1) A wise man seeks [a friend, a fool] seeks an enemy.
The friend of a fool is a fool, the friend of a sage is a sage.
The friend of an idiot is an idiot. (Ankhsh. 13/2.6-7)

2) With the wise you will not be corrupted; with the corrupted you will not be wise.
Join the wise man and you become wise like him; do not join the foolish man, lest you be reckoned like him. (Ahiqar Syr BM 7200, nos.11-12. Similarly Syr Camb Add

2020, nos.11-12; Syr Berlin 165, nos.14-15; Syr Berlin 134, no.15; Arm A, nos.5-6)

3) Walk with the wise and be wise,
Befriend fools and become wicked. (Prov 13:20; see also Ben Sira 13:1)

4) Joining the evil you will become evil.
Joining the wise you will become wise.
(Sent. Men. 274 & 475; see also 302)[64]

c) The value of silence

Right speech and right silence were universal sapiential topics in which even close parallels need not indicate borrowing. But when Ankhsheshonqy (23/4) says "Silence conceals foolishness," he is quoting an uncommon saying of a certain spiciness, wherefore its recurrence in biblical wisdom and in the Syriac Pseudo-Menander is likely to signify a sharing of sources. The formulations are almost identical:

Even a fool, if silent, is deemed wise,
who seals his lips, intelligent. (Prov 17:28)

שפירא הי שתיקותא בכל זבן

אפן סכלא שתיק חכימא מתחשב

Silence is good at all times;
even a fool, if silent, is deemed wise.
(Pseudo-Menander no.55)

d) Fools hate instruction

1) Do not instruct a fool, lest he hate you. (Ankhsh. 7/4)
"What they do insults me," says the fool when one teaches him. (Ankhsh. 10/6)
Another's instruction does not enter the heart of the fool; what is in his heart is in his heart. (Ankhsh. 27/10)

2) Correct not the mocker, lest he hate you
Correct a wise man, and he will love you. (Prov 9:8)

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64 The "like to like" topos in Plutarch (De liberis educandis 4A): "For as the proverb-makers rightly say, 'If you dwell with a lame man you will learn to limp.'"

The way of the fool is right in his eyes,
but a wise man listens to advice. (Prov 12:15)

Ankhsheshonqy's use of the sage/fool dichotomy brings out two points: 1. While as yet not occupying a central position, the dichotomy is an important one, and rather more developed here than in the wisdom of Ahiqar. Furthermore, the manner in which the antithetical pair is treated points forward to its full development in Papyrus Insinger, where the contrast between the sage and the fool is at the center of the Instruction and is further enlarged by the pious/impious pair. 2. As far as one can judge from the presently known Egyptian sapiential texts, the prominence of the sage/fool dichotomy is, in Egypt, a feature of late wisdom. In connection with its central role in PInsinger we shall have to ask the question whether the parallel Stoic division of mankind into wise men and fools was a mere coincidence.

C. Good and Bad Women

Classical Egyptian wisdom, teaching that a man owed love and care to his wife, had not elaborated on women's shortcomings except to advise a man to deal firmly with a contentious wife. Beyond that, the Instructions had focused on three topics: a mother's love for her children; the crime and risk of adultery; and the dangerous charms of prostitutes, called "strange women." All this is paralleled in biblical wisdom. But there is the underlying difference that in Egypt women had a social and legal status much above that of women elsewhere in the ancient world. In the sayings of Ankhsheshonqy this relatively high status makes itself felt. First of all, our author distinguished between mothers and wives. He viewed mothers with unqualified affection and respect. The wife, the partner of a man's life, becomes the target of critical appraisal, for her character was the crucial factor in the welfare and harmony of the household. In this appraisal, women are divided into "good" and "bad" ones, and they are made the butt of the author's satirical wit. Furthermore, the sayings on adultery and prostitution form a medley in which traditional harsh views are expressed alongside permissive and

satirical "modern" views:

1) Mothers and wives:

Do not open your heart to your wife or to your servant. Open it to your mother; she is a women of ⌜discretion⌝. (Ankhsh. 13/17-18)
If you are thirsty at night let your mother give you to drink. (Ankhsh. 21/23)

2) Good and bad women:

A good woman of noble character is food that comes in time of hunger. (Ankhsh. 24/21)
Do not marry an impious woman, lest she give your children an impious upbringing.
If a woman is at peace with her husband they will never fare badly.
If a woman wispers about her husband [they will never] fare well. (Ankhsh. 25/17-19)

3) Women are stupid, unreliable, and mercenary:

Instructing a woman is (having) a sack of sand whose side is split open. (Ankhsh. 13/20)
Let your wife see your wealth; do not trust her with it. Do not trust her with her provisions for one year. (Ankhsh. 12/13-14)
When a man smells of myrrh his wife is a monkey before him. When a man is suffering his wife is a lion before him. (Ankhsh. 15/11-12)

4) Adultery and prostitution, ancient and modern views:

Do not make love to a married woman.
He who makes love to a married woman is killed on her doorstep. (Ankhsh. 23/6-7)
Do not rejoice in your wife's beauty; her heart is set on a lover. (Ankhsh. 18/15)
If you find your wife with her lover get yourself a worthy bride. (Ankhsh. 13/12)
If a woman does not value the property of her husband she has another man [in her] heart. (Ankhsh. 25/20)

Marriages were not made in heaven. They were contractual arrangements which either party could terminate. As to prostitution, it was most of all a danger to a man's purse:

> He who makes love to a woman of the street will have his purse cut open on its side. (Ankhsh. 22/6)
> Man is even better at copulating than a donkey; his purse is what restrains him. (Ankhsh. 24/10)

On this point, Plutarch made identical remarks: ἀπέστρεψε φιλαργυρία φιλογυνίαν... "Avarice restrains lechery ..." (Quaestiones convivales VII.5.706), and so did Ben Sira 9:6-7.

All this is quite unlike the biblical precepts, but very much in the spirit of Hellenistic Greek gnomic sayings on women and marriage, where the rhetorical manner favored an arrangement of pronouncements in terms of opposite views on the subject. Two fragmentary papyri of the second century B.C. contain florilegia of poetic sayings alternatingly denouncing and defending women and marriage;[65] and in the Florilegium of Stobaeus the same antithetical arrangement organizes the extensive treatment of these twin topics, which occupies eight chapters (§§ 67-74). Naturally, women and marriage were major topics of Hellenistic Comedy and thus an almost inexhaustible quarry for the anthologizers. Here are a few monostichs on women from the Sententiae Menandri:

> Silence is any woman's ornament.
> To keep home safe and sound marks a good wife.
> A wife 's both woe and welfare to a home.
> Better not trust a woman with your life.
> Women know what they want and nothing else.
> (Sent. Men. 83-87)

Thus, Ankhsheshonqy's sayings on women suggest that satire had here found a new target in a newly prominent theme.

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65 Berliner Klassikertexte V (1907) 123-142, Papyri nos. 9772 and 9773; and see Barns, The Classical Quarterly 45 (1951) 1ff.

D. Wealth and Poverty

The author of the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy dispensed much pragmatic advice on the acquisition and care of property. Evidently, this common sapiential topic concerned him; yet here too he was more interested in collecting witty and pointed sayings than in providing an ordered treatment of the theme. Such coherence as there is resides in his basic convictions: wealth is good, poverty is bad, and a man must labor with diligence so as to acquire possessions. He must also learn to safeguard his property, while yet sharing it with others in accordance with the dictates of generosity. But in this age of international trade the management of property was no longer a simple matter, and good advice could be conflicting. We have seen that Ankhsheshonqy shares with Aḥiqar the saying, "Better is small wealth gathered than large wealth scattered." But elsewhere he advocates the opposite method, the "spreading" of it:

> Whether times are strait or joyous, wealth grows by spreading it. (Ankhsh. 8/13)

Yet there is no explicit advocacy of trading ventures, and merchants are viewed with distrust:

> Do not drink water in the house of a merchant; he will charge you for it. (Ankhsh. 16/5)
>
> Do not have a merchant for a friend; he lives for taking a slice. (Ankhsh. 28/4)

Ben Sira voiced the same attitude:

> It is hard for a merchant to avoid doing wrong,
> and for a salesman to stay free of guilt. (26:29)

At all times, the possession of property entailed care and exertion:

> Wealth takes hold of its owner.
> The owner of the cow is he who is able to run.
> (Ankhsh. 9/22-23)

Poverty was distressing; but was it also disgraceful? The answers were conflicting:

> Better death than want. (Ankhsh. 21/22)

Need, if its condition becomes known in the street,
is reckoned a disgrace. (Ankhsh. 15/8)

This was also Ahiqar's opinion:

If you are poor among your fellows reveal it not, lest
they despise you and do not listen to your words.
(Ahiqar Arm A, no.70)

But earlier Ankhsheshonqy had given advice to the contrary:

Do not hide when you have no food.
He who hides when he has no food is in the position of
him who seeks him. (Ankhsh. 7/9-10)

In any case, a man should support a friend in need, and in doing so he could expect an ultimate reward:

If you have grown up with a man and fare well with him,
do not abandon him when he fares ill.
Let him attain his house of eternity.
He who comes after him will support you.
(Ankhsh. 17/18-20)

Ben Sira made the same point:

Keep faith with your neighbor in his poverty,
so that you will have part in his prosperity.
Stand by him in the time of need,
so that you will share in his legacy. (22:28f.)

4.3 Tables of Themes and Vocabulary

The tabulation of themes provides a quick survey which also allows to distinguish between major and minor ones. Minor themes are minor only in the sense that the author of this Instruction did not stress them. Papyrus Insinger will show a different distribution and emphasis. In addition to facilitating comparisons with PInsinger, the tables of themes can be compared with those of non-Egyptian sapiential texts.[66]

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66 See the tables of themes of Ahiqar, Pseudo-Menander, and Pseudo-Phocylides in Küchler, Weisheitstraditionen, 288ff., 307f., and 322f. The similarities between Ankhsheshonqy and Ahiqar stand out.

In treating of human relations, our author has shown his modernity in his sayings on the topic "women." He is, however, traditional in his advice on behavior toward superiors, advocating humility, respect, caution, and restraint. Although such advice has universal validity, the emphasis placed on the master/servant relationship belongs to the stock of old sapiential themes shared by Egypt and its eastern neighbors. On the other hand, new and typically Hellenistic are the topics of "slaves" and "friends." It must, however, be added that the word b3k meant both "slave" and "servant," and that only the context makes the one or the other meaning more suitable. But where the writer used stm-'š and šms.t (13/13.17) the meanings "manservant" and "maidservant" are appropriate. Another ambiguous word is hl, "youth" (14/19) which could also signify servant or slave.

The Vocabulary Table is designed to encompass Ankhsheshonqy's ethical and psychological terms denoting character traits, states of feeling, modes of thought, and the human condition. Such basic words as "life" and "death" have been included, but the most common words of action and motion are omitted, except where they occur with special idiomatic meanings. Since the purpose of the Table is lexical, the words are given in the order of the Egyptian alphabet as arranged in our dictionaries.

Inevitably, there was some arbitrariness in the choice of the words to be included; but it is hoped that the comparison with the corresponding vocabulary of Papyrus Insinger will prove instructive.

The listing of textual references for the Themes and the Vocabulary was designed to be ample but not exhaustive.

Lastly, it should be understood that Table II lists significant concepts without regard to the presence or absence of Egyptian lexical equivalents. For many of these concepts, Egyptian terms do of course exist; but rather than using the terms, the sayings often illustrate them by concrete examples. The most abstract concepts, such as "causality," or "inconsistency," have no Egyptian lexical counterparts but are prominently treated through numerous concrete examples.

Tables of Themes and Terms

I. Persons and Types

Fathers & Mothers	6/6 10/21.23 11/19 13/8.18 16/24 21/23 23/18 24/18
Sons	7/2-3 10/21 11/7.17.19 13/5.11 15/15 16/3 17/23 19/14 21/20 24/22
Daughters	19/13 22/4 25/15
Children	7/2-3 10/21 11/19 13/5.11 15/15 16/3 17/23 18/11 19/13 21/14.20 22/4 24/22
Brothers	6/2 8/16 10/11.14-16 11/4 12/15 13/10 15/7 16/4.23 19/11-12 21/21 24/24
Husbands	8/12 13/22 17/3 20/19 25/5.14-15.18-20 25/22 27/7
Women & Wives	8/12.22 11/7 12/13-14 13/12-13.16-17 13/19-22 14/16 15/11-12.15 16/10 17/3 17/21 18/9.14-15 20/19.23 21/14.18-19 22/8-11 23/6-7.24 24/6.20-21 25/5.8-9
Whores	6/12 22/6 25/21
Neighbors	9/13 11/3
Companions, Friends	10/12 13/2.6-7.24 14/3.8 16/4 21/6.10 26/13
Adversaries, Enemies	8/12 13/2 19/5.9
Strangers	16/19-20 22/14
Superiors, Masters, Great/Rich Men	5/9 7/13.15.20 8/11 9/13 10/7-9.22 12/19 13/23 16/6-7 17/10.17.25 18/8.12 18/23 19/14.19 21/9 22/18
Inferiors, Poor Men, Common Men	7/19 17/17 18/7.23 22/21 25/7 28/7-8
Wise Men	5/10 6/13-14 8/6.23 12/8-9.12 13/2.6.9 14/8 18/11 19/20 21/7 22/12 25/15 27/16
Wise Women	8/22 18/9
Fools	5/10 6/14 7/4.6-7 10/6 12/12 13/2.6-7 18/9.11 19/8.25 20/16 21/8.20 22/12-13 27/3.10
Elders	7/21-22 20/18
Youths	13/24 15/9
Servants	13/13.17
Slaves/Servants	7/2.17-18 14/19 16/6 19/18 24/23 28/3
Thieves	14/3.11 17/22 20/15
Merchants	16/5 19/18 26/16 28/4
Scribes	8/9-10 10/3 28/10

Laborers, Craftsmen, Fishermen	10/3 11/15 18/2 22/19-20 23/19 26/15
King	9/7 16/16 19/7 25/7.10-11
God	6/1 7/14 8/6 11/15.21.23 14/2.10.17 16/14 18/16-17 19/14 20/6 21/10 22/25 23/12.14 25/4-5 26/8.11.14 27/12.14 28/10

II. Situations, Actions, and Traits

Work & Occupations	8/15-16 9/11.14 10/2-3 11/15 15/21-22 17/23-24 18/2.4 20/4 26/15-18
Property & Wealth	6/10 8/13.17-23 9/1-4.18-25 13/9-10 15/10 16/9-12.21
Poverty & Need	7/9-10 8/14 15/8 17/18 21/22
Marriage & Adultery	8/12 11/7 12/13-14 13/12-13.16-17. 13/19-22 15/11-12 18/14-15 20/19 21/18 21/19 24/6 25/5.8-9.14.17-23 27/7
Education & Learning	6/9 8/2-3 10/6 13/20 15/9 17/23 19/25 27/10
Giving Service	6/1-6 7/14-16 16/7-8
Illness & Death	10/25 17/7 18/21 19/15-17 21/22 23/13 24/13 26/9
Fate & Fortune	3/13-14 8/5.14 11/22 13/4 14/17 20/6 26/8
Character	10/4 11/11-14 18/13 19/6 20/9.13.19.21 21/25 22/8 23/11.15 24/7-8
Causality, Reciprocity, Retaliation, Golden Rule	6/1-6 9/17 11/10.17.21 12/16 14/14 15/23 19/22-24 21/4-14 22/5 23/19-21 26/3-7.17-18.21
Speech & Silence	7/23-24 8/23 10/7 12/24 14/12 15/16 17/10.25 23/4.10
Generosity, Good Deeds	13/3 14/9 15/5-7 17/18 19/10.21
Forethought, Prudence	6/7 8/4-6 12/7-9.20 14/15 22/18 25/15
Gentleness, Patience	6/8 17/26
Good Repute	7/20 17/26 20/18
Quarrel & Killing	9/10 12/19-20 14/3 18/7 19/11-12 22/21-24 23/7
Theft	11/17 13/21 14/7 15/14 21/17
Avarice & Greed	12/18 14/20 15/20 21/15-16
Lies, Deception	13/14 15/9.18 16/13.17 18/4.22 21/11
Abuse, Cursing, Slander	6/20 7/18.23 10/6 11/5 14/5 22/21-22
Scorn, Disdain	9/5-9 12/10 15/8 16/25 17/4.17 27/11 28/7

Anger, Harshness	6/8 7/19 12/22
Inconsistency, Thoughtlessness	7/8.11 8/4 9/16-17.24 11/8-9 12/21 15/21-22 16/14 17/5-7 21/13-14 22/3 23/17 24/19 25/6
Foolishness	8/2 23/4
Worry, Impatience	6/21-24 19/15
Fear, Discouragement	12/7 15/13.24-25 16/18 18/21
Laziness, Self-indulgence	6/16-19 8/16 9/16 17/8-9

III. The Anthropological Vocabulary

3b3	muteness	15/16
3byn	poor, wretched	11/17 19/17 27/13
ir 3byn	become poor	16/22
ty 3byn	⌜act poor⌝ = grovel	23/22
3brṯ	⌜destiny⌝	2/6 11/12
3my.t	character	11/11-14 18/13 20/19
ṯ3y 3my.t	⌜become mature⌝	6/9
3nṯ	draw back, restrain	21/13 24/10
3rl	⌜worry⌝	10/5
3yḫ (3ḫ)	battle	18/10
3sy, 'se.t	loss, waste, harm	20/22-25 21/7 25/9
3sk	linger	28/5
3k	ruin, be lost	12/10 14/9
3yt, ir 3yt	need, lack	12/3.17 14/19 15/6.8
3ḏ	thief	14/3.11 17/22 20/15
iwy.t	pledge, security	12/18 16/21
iwf	flesh, body	6/18 8/7.15 27/9
ip	reckon, plan	16/5 21/10 26/14-15
iry	companion, friend	10/12 13/6-7.24
iry t3 wpy.t	trial partner	17/15
iry pš	partner	18/14
iry mš'	travel companion	21/10
iry ḏḏy	adversary	8/12 27/20
isw	payment, return	9/14
ys	hasten	7/23 17/10
'y, 'w in		
'y n ms	old	20/18
'y ḫe.t	gluttony	15/20
'w n rmt	prime	15/7
ir 'w	mature	7/21-22 19/22-23
ty 'y	make great, honor	5/9 15/7 20/18

'b'	boast	10/11
'f'	greedy	21/15
'n, n3-'n, 'ny	beautiful, good, pleasant, beauty	6/8 10/23 18/15 21/20-21/22 23/8-9
'nḫ	live, life, alive	8/12 19/16 23/13 26/5
'rk	swear	16/13
'rḏ	protect, secure	13/9
'ḥ'	lifetime, life	12/5 25/21
'š-sḫn	affairs, business	11/23 13/19
'š-sḫn bn	misfortune	2/10 3/14
'š-sḫn nfr	good fortune	3/13 8/5 20/6
'ḏ, 'ḏṯ	deceit, wrong, false	9/10 15/9 16/13.17
'ḏn	destroy	25/7
wy	be far, flee, release	20/16 25/14 26/6
w'y	revile, quarrel	11/5 24/15 27/13
wp.t	work	8/15 12/12 18/4 23/17
wpy.t	judgment, trial	8/17 12/8 16/17 17/15
wpy.t	rejoicing	18/10
wnf	joyful	8/13
why	err, fail	18/5 21/12.21
wḫ3	seek, want	7/10 13/2 15/22
wstn	take liberties	7/13 17/3
wš in ir wš	cease, fail	9/11 10/17-18
wšt	worship	19/14
wt	flourish	10/18
wṯ	send	11/15 18/25
wṯ	differ	26/14
wt.t	destruction	14/17 27/14
b3.t	anger, wrath	6/8 7/19-20 17/26 28/7
ḫm b3.t	small of wrath	6/8 7/20 17/26
bw	condemnation	14/2
bn, n3-bn	bad, evil, ill	12/6 14/6 17/18 25/22
bn3.t	being evil	15/19
ir n3-bn	fare ill	6/11
bš	leave	21/5
bty, bty.t	despise, abomination	19/25 22/16
btw	crime, punishment	7/12 12/11
pḫ	reach, concern, be able	9/8.18.23 11/16 12/17 15/3 24/9
pḫw	end, outcome	8/6 11/21-22

m3'w; n m3'.t	right; surely	15/13 18/7
myt	road	17/14 26/13
my.t	way, road	11/16 13/8
my.t n ntr	way of god	23/12
mwy	think, thought	15/9 26/14
mwt	die, death	19/15.17 20/12 21/22 23/13
mn	land = die	18/21
mnḫ, ir mnḫ	be beneficent, successful	6/6 18/5 21/12
mnk	end	18/17
mr	fret, suffer	6/21.23-24 15/12 16/4.13 19/15
mr	love	18/19 22/6.8.10 23/6-7.14-15
mḫtx	control, take charge	11/9 24/19
mḫy	beat	7/12.18 22/22
mst	hate, dislike	6/20 7/4 16/7-8 18/20 19/9
mšt	inspect	9/11
mky	protect, pamper	6/18-19 8/15
mkḫ	worry	6/22
mt.t in		
mt.t n 'd	deception	18/4
mt.t bn.t	bad deed/thing	12/6 14/6 16/18
mt.t pr-'3	Pharaoh's matter	9/7 16/16
mt.t m3'.t	justice, truth	5/5 13/15
mt.t nfr.t	favor, benefaction, good deed	4/10 12/17 13/3 14/9 15/5-6
mt.t rmt rḫ	wisdom	19/19
mtr, mtr.t	teach, instruction, upbringing	10/6 25/17 27/10
nw	look, glance	3/9 8/16 14/15 17/9 26/11
nb	owner	9/22-23 19/4
nfr, n3-nfr	good, well	9/14 10/2 17/18 19/24 24/10.13
ir n3-nfr	fare well	6/11
nḫtx	trust, entrust	5/7 12/13-14 16/22
nḫt, nḫtx.t	strong, protection	8/11 12/22 18/3 19/13
rwš	care	24/24
rmy	cry	15/4
rmt '3	great/rich man	5/9 7/20 10/7 12/10 18/8.23
rmt 'š3y	common man	22/21 25/7 28/7-8
rmt rḫ	wise man	6/3.13-14 8/6.23 12/8.12 13/2 13/6.9 14/8 18/11 19/20 21/7
rmt ḫm	inferior, poor man	17/17 18/7.23

rmt swg	stupid man	7/7 13/7 19/8
rnn.t	wealth	8/17-9/4
rḫ	know, be able	7/17 10/12 11/9.15-16.19 12/5.7.21-22 13/9.11.19 14/8 18/18 19/20 25/10-13
rstẋy	tomorrow	13/22
rš̆y	rejoice	18/15
lby	rave	11/6
lḫ	fool	5/10 6/14 7/4.6 10/6 12/12 13/6 18/9.11 20/16 21/8.20
ls	tongue	10/7 15/16 23/10
lg	cease	5/3-5
he <u>in</u> ir he	spend	9/24-25
hwš	insult, offend	7/23 10/6 21/9 22/21-22
hbr	mistreat	4/19 6/11
hp	law	5/2
hr	be at peace	12/19
hrw ms	birthday	16/11
ḥ3t	heart	7/22.24 11/16 14/18 18/15
ir ḥ3t	repent	19/8
'w n ḥ3t	patient	6/8 14/6 24/15
ḥ3' ḥ3t	rely	6/10 7/6-7
ḫm n ḥ3t	impatient	19/15
ḫsy n ḥ3t	despondent	18/21
š'ṯ n ḥ3t	discouraged	12/7 15/24-25
gby n ḥ3t	fainthearted	16/18
ḥw	profit, excess	9/19 10/19 14/7 17/23 21/8 24/22-24
ḥwy	throw, cast, invest, abandon	10/8 13/5 16/6.9 19/10 21/10 23/23
ḥwy n krf	engage in deceit	21/11
ḥwy sty.t	start a fire	22/3
ḥwr'	steal	11/17 13/21
ḥp	hide, conceal	16/19 19/5 23/4
ḥn	command, entrust	5/11 12/4.23
ḥns	strait, stingy	8/13 12/18 21/16
ḥry	master	12/9.19 16/6-7 17/10.17.25 18/12 19/19 22/18
ḥrr	neglect, delay	7/14-17 12/5
ḥs, ḥs.t	praise	7/20 22/9.11 23/20
ḥtp	rest, be at peace be reconciled	9/15 19/12 25/5.18
ḥteṯ (ḥtr)	compel	7/2

ḫ3'	abandon	14/16 17/21
ḫ3' ḥ3ṯ see ḥ3ṯ		
ḫy, ḫ'.t	measure, measuring	10/4 20/8
ḫy	high, noble	12/23 24/21 27/7
ḫ'r	be angry	5/1-13
ḫbṯ	enemy	11/21
ḫp	time	8/19
ḫf	perish, be ruined	18/2 23/11 24/17
ḫm	small, little	6/13 7/19-20 23/9
ty ḫm	belittle	7/22
ḫnšṯ.t	stench	7/19
ḫnṯ	quarrel	9/10 19/11-12
ḫrw	voice	12/22-23 13/14
ḫr/ḫl	spread, disperse	8/13 23/9
ḫsf	blame, scorn	22/10 24/14
ḫne	neighbor	11/3
ḫne	approach	20/16
ḫne	fool	23/12 27/3
ḫsy	be slack, weary	6/18-19 23/17-18 28/10
ḫtb	kill	12/19-20 18/7 22/23-24 26/6
s3b3	impious	25/17
syt nfr	good repute	6/2
swg	foolishness	8/2 19/25 23/4
sb3, n3-sb3	instruct, learned	5/10 8/3 15/9 17/23
sb3.t	instruction	6/9 8/2 13/20 16/3 19/25
sby irm	laugh at	11/19 16/15
sf	yesterday	24/12
sny	pass by, pass away	16/14 19/20 21/6
snḥ	restrain	12/15
snṯ	constitution	25/12-13
snt	fear	15/13 19/19
shw(r)	curse	7/18 27/14
shn	command, provide	5/12 15/19 22/25
sḫ in		
sḫ ls	slip of the tongue	23/10
sḫ ḥny	slip of the helm	23/10
shy in ir shy	be sure of	11/16
shne	influence	25/5
sḫt (shṯ)	hinder	11/5

sḫst	run, hasten	9/23 21/13
sš, ššy	scorn, disgrace	9/5-9 15/8 17/17
sḳ	save	13/21 26/7
st3	withdraw, turn	8/9-10 14/17 27/14
stb	distress	12/4
sḏny	consult	2/7 3/22
šy	fate	8/14 11/22 13/4 26/8
š'r	value	5/6
š'ṯ	cut, slit	22/6 24/11
šw	worth, worthy, useful	6/5 13/12 20/21
šbn	cleave	13/15
šp	receive, succeed, experience	10/24-25 12/4 20/15
ty šp	repay	13/3 28/6
špe	gift	19/21
špy	be ashamed	21/14 24/14
šf'.t	reputation, respect	10/4 17/26
šf'	poor	14/20
šm	go, go after, undertake	6/6 7/11-12 12/21 15/18 17/7 21/12 24/9
šm'	stranger	16/19 20/5 22/14
šms	serve, service	6/1-6 16/7-8 18/16-17
šn	examine, inspect, ask advice	6/7 8/4-6 12/7.9 16/14 24/11
šny	be ill, illness	20/12 22/14 26/9
štm	slander, scold	14/5 21/15
ḳpe	hide	7/8-10 18/12
ḳsḳs	whisper	25/19

krf see ḫwy n krf

gy	condition	16/13
gy n ir wp.t	occupation	6/24
gyl	deposit	9/19
gby	weak	18/6
ty gby	make yield	12/22
gby tr.t	weakling	23/16
gm	find, find out, realize, acknowledge	5/17 6/5.15 7/8 13/12 14/6-7 14/9.11 15/5.14 19/10 21/7-8 24/9 26/7.16 27/17
glp	uncover	2/21 19/23

gtg	haste	15/16
t3	time	12/24
tym	guard	6/1
twt	gather, self-control	23/9 24/13
tb3	retaliate	12/16
tbḥ	beg	8/14 19/15
tn	honor, honorable	10/21 18/5
tny.t	part, share	14/9 16/24 18/3
thr, th3, thrl	be ill, grievous, illness, distress	3/14 17/7 18/21 24/6 27/9
tš	assign	18/24
tše	neighbor	9/13
tgn	remove	16/8
t3y	betake, take hold	8/3 9/22 22/8.14-15
t3y 'yk	inaugurate	23/19
t3y ry.t	take sides	9/3
t3y rt	grip	11/18
t3y	spend	15/10
dwy, dwy.t	steal, theft	12/15 15/14
dm	desist	10/16 12/15
dr	be powerful	18/6
drp	trip, stumble	10/7 14/15
dlh	disdain, belittle	12/10 16/25 27/11 28/7
dt	forever	16/1 25/6
ddy	enemy	13/2 19/5

see also iry ddy

A Note on "Wisdom" and "Foolishness"

Egyptian wisdom literature did not develop the concept of wisdom into a key term. The word "wisdom" appears once in Ankhsheshonqy (19/19: mt.t rmt rḫ) and it also occurs once in the first tale of Setne Khaemwas (4/39). In both instances it means primarily "good sense, prudence," and it is in this sense that the quality of the "wise man" is understood throughout this Instruction. "Wise" is he who possesses prudence, common sense, practical sagacity, and good judgment. Naturally, these qualities were viewed as linked with learning; and in one case, (Ankhsh. 5/10) the expression "learned men" was used as a syno-

nym for "wise men," while in 8/3 the term n3-sb3, "be learned" is paired with rḫ, "know."

There is nothing to show that Egyptian sapiential thinking underwent a crisis comparable to the one commonly attributed to Israelite wisdom thinking. Along with scattered remarks, the epilogue of the New Kingdom Instruction of Any indicates that the sages of Egypt had reflected on the resistance to learning encountered among the young, the foolish, and the ill-disposed, and had considered the traits in the human personality that prevented learning and set limits to the malleability of character. Even so, man was judged to be corrigible. The end result of these reflections was the emergence of the twin topics of "wise men" and "fools." Stemming from a sapiential thinking that was essentially pragmatic and rational, the theme received a pragmatic and sometimes sarcastic treatment in the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy. Not only did the writer declare that "fools hate instruction" (7/4 & 10/6), he also derided youths for misusing their learning (15/9) and women for failing to absorb it (13/20). A far more searching articulation of the sage/fool dichotomy was yet to come.

5. Ankhsheshonqy's Organizational Devices, and Conclusion

If reliance on the monostich went hand in hand with an aphoristic manner of composition, our author yet availed himself of some elementary devices for achieving a modicum of order. His devices are three: 1. The pairing of monostichs. 2. The chain of anaphoric sentences. 3. The verbal association as a means of moving from one topic to another.

The use of paired monostichs has been discussed above (pp. 10-11 & 35-36) and has been shown to be the basic device for creating logical connections and a context. The chain of anaphoric sentences appears at the very opening of the Instruction (6/1-6, see above p.4) and recurs several more times in longer or shorter sequences. Examples of long sequences are 8/17-9/4, 10/11-11/4, and 21/1-12. The shorter chain appears in three forms: the enumerative quatrain (11/11-14 & 20/22-25), the quatrain building up to a conclusion (16/9-12), and the

sophisticated five-line sorites in 22/21-25, which headed our list of borrowings from Ahiqar (pp.14-17).

The third device, the verbal association occurs scattered throughout the text and will here be illustrated by citing the lines 13/6-20, the associating words being underlined:

(6) The friend of a fool is a fool, the friend of a wise man a wise man.
(7) The friend of a stupid man is a stupid man.
(8) The mother gives birth, the way makes a friend.
(9) Every man acquires property; it is a wise man who knows how to protect it.
(10) Do not hand over your property to your younger brother, so as to let him become your elder brother thereby.
(11) Do not prefer one of your children to another; you do not know which of them will be kind to you.
(12) If you find your wife with her lover get yourself a worthy bride.
(13) Do not acquire a maidservant for your wife if you do not have a manservant.
(14) Do not acquire two voices.
(15) Speak truth to all men; let it cleave to your speech.
(16) Do not open your heart to your wife; what you have spoken to her goes to the street.
(17) Do not open your heart to your wife or to your servant.
(18) Open it to your mother; the woman is ⌜discreet⌝.
(19) A woman - her affairs is what she knows.
(20) Instructing a woman is (having) a sack of sand whose side is split open.

Lines 6-7 form a pair in which the key word is "friend." Line 8 is a pun on mw.t, "mother," and my.t, "way," in which the recurrence of the word "friend" creates an associative link with the preceding lines without there being a logical connection. Lines 9-10 form a pair on the new topic "property," and the reappearance of the term "wise man" touches the cord struck in lines 6 and 9. The new key term "brother" in line 10 leads by mental, though not verbal, association to "children" in line 11; and "children" in turn evokes "wife" in line 12.

Thereafter, lines 12-13 are linked through the word "wife," and the word "acquire" in line 13 carries forward to the new topic of "not acquiring" two voices, in line 14. Lines 14-15 form a pair on the theme of speaking the truth; and the notion of "speech" brings on the topic of "discreet speech" in lines 16-18. Then, the word "woman" in line 18 evokes the new topic "women," which occupies lines 19-22.

In evaluating this method of creating connections, it is well to consider that, in the absence of an alphabetic order, collections of sayings serving as material for Instructions may well have made ample use of just such arrangements by key words. In any case, the device is quite effective in creating an interlocking forward movement from one topic to another.

A similar use of key terms to connect separate sayings is found in parts of the Book of Proverbs. But it is there almost entirely limited to the paired terms of fool/wise and wicked/righteous. Hence its effect is to create a semblance of logical interconnections, rather than a linking of distinctly different topics.

Conclusion

It has been shown that the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy is neither a less developed form of wisdom, nor a simplistic text addressed to farmers, nor yet an anthology of proverbs. Instead, it is a multi-layered work incorporating Egyptian responses to encounters with non-Egyptian forms of sapiential thinking in the Hellenistic world. It reveals a substantial acquaintance with, and borrowing from, a no longer extant Aramaic version of the Wisdom of Ahiqar, and familiarity with international proverbial sayings, probably known primarily in Aramaic forms. A number of its sayings reflect specifically Hellenistic themes and concerns. And its formulations arouse such numerous and precise echos from Aramaic, Hebrew, and Hellenistic Greek sources as to make it evident that the Demotic writer had drawn on widely shared international sapiential topics, treated in the prevailing modes of aphoristic gnomologia.

6. The Instruction of Anchsheshonqy: Translation

(I,7) ------[67] He was good with his remedies. [They took him] before the chief (8) physician. [The chief physician asked him many questions. He told] him the answer to all of them. [The chief physician realized] (9) that he was a wise [man]. [They brought Harsiese before] Pharaoh. Pharaoh asked him many questions. (10) He told him the answer to all of them. Pharaoh was very [pleased]. It came to pass that he --- to the house of (11) the chief physician, and the chief physician did [nothing] without consulting (12) Harsiese son of Ramose about it. A few days later it happened that the chief physician went (13) to his fathers. Harsiese son of Ramose was made chief physician, and he was given everything that belonged to the chief physician (14) entirely, and his brothers were made priests without tax. It came to pass that Pharaoh did nothing without (15) consulting Harsiese son of Ramose about it.

After this it happened one (16) day that Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi became very troubled ------. He deliberated (17) with his heart, saying: "What suits my heart is to go to Mem-[phis] and meet with (18) Harsiese son of Ramose. I have been told he has been made chief physician [and has been given everything] that belonged to the chief physician (19) entirely, and his brothers have been made priests without tax. Perhaps the god will put it [into his heart] to do for me what is right."

He came (20) out of Heliopolis without having let any man on earth [know] of his going. He found a boat which was sailing (2,x) ------ (1) ------ "Ankhsheshonqy [son of Tjainufi] ------ (2) ------ [stay] here in Memphis with me. (3) ------ [You shall send to] Heliopolis, [to] your people three times a month."[68]

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67 In the now fragmentary beginning it was told that Ankhsheshonqy and Harsiese had grown up together as close friends. Harsiese had shown himself adept at medical studies. In the forthcoming number of Serapis (Nims Festschrift) H. S. Smith has reconstructed parts of the beginning. I have here adopted only a few of his restorations.

68 End of Harsiese's speech inviting Ankhsheshonqy to stay.

So (4) [Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi stayed with] Harsiese son of Ramose, for he had ------; and he [sent] to Heliopolis to his people three times a month.

(6) [After this it happened one day that the courtiers] consulted about an evil ⌜destiny⌝ [69] (7) ------. They consulted Harsiese son of Ramose, the chief physician (8) [about it. Harsiese son of Ramose consulted] Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi about it. Then said (9) Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi to him: "[Take care!] May your life be safe! Pharaoh is the image of Pre! (10) ------. [How can you] consent to the misfortune of Pharaoh? Pharaoh has done you (11) many favors, [more than to] all [the courtiers of] the palace. You were brought to the palace when you (12) had nothing in the world. You were made [chief] physician. He let you be given everything that belonged to the chief physician entirely. (13) He had your brothers made priests without tax. Is what you are doing in return to have him killed?" He said: "Let go (14) of me, Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi! There is nothing in the words that you are saying. The guards, the generals, (15) the great men of the palace are all agreed to do it."

Now it happened that everything (16) Harsiese son of Ramose was saying to Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi and that Ankhsheshonqy said to him (17) in reply - there was a man of the household inside a [place] who listened to the voices of the two men. He was called Wahibre-(18)makhy son of Ptahertais by name. This same man, it was his night for lying down in the vestibule of (19) the private chamber where Pharaoh was. When [night] came he lay down in the vestibule of (20) the private chamber where Pharaoh was.

In the 8th hour of the night (21) Pharaoh awoke, uncovered his face and called out, saying: "Who is outside?" Wahibre-makhy (22) son of Ptahertais answered him. Pharaoh said to him: "Woe [at his hand], woe at the hand of Pre and the gods

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69 The meaning of the noun 3brt, which recurs in 11/12, has not been established. For its occurrence in personal names see Demotisches Namenbuch I/1, p. 8.

who are (3,x) ------ (1) ------. He said to Pharaoh ------ (2) ---. The moment he had said it ------ before the Great-of-Might, saying: "Shall I (3) be saved, shall I be saved, Wahibre-makhy son of Ptahertais, [shall I] be saved?" He said: "You will be saved by the hand of Pre and (4) the gods who are with him, and Neit the Great, the god's mother, the great goddess, shall place the peoples of the whole (5) earth beneath the feet of Pharaoh." He related to Pharaoh everything he had overheard (6) Harsiese son of [Ra]mose saying to Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi and what Ankhsheshonqy had said to him (7) in reply, without a single word being altered. Pharaoh was unable to sleep till morning.

When (8) the morning of the next day had come, Pharaoh sat in the hall of the palace of Memphis. (9) The guards stood in their station and the generals in their ranks. Pharaoh looked to the station (10) of Harsiese son of Ramose. Pharaoh said to him: "Harsiese son of Ramose, you were brought to the palace (11) when you had nothing in the world. I appointed you chief physician and let you be given everything that belonged to the chief physician (12) entirely, and I had your brothers made priests without tax. What have you done, conspiring against me to have me killed?"

(13) He said to Pharaoh: "My great lord! On the day on which Pre commanded to do to me what is good, he put Pharaoh's good fortune (14) in my heart. On the day on which Pre commanded to do to me what is grievous, he put Pharaoh's misfortune (15) in my heart."

Pharaoh said to him: "The words, those that were said to you, did you say them to any man at all?" He said: "I said them (16) to Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi, a priest of Pre who is here in Memphis with me." Pharaoh said to him: "Ankh-(17)sheshonqy son of Tjainufi, what is he to you?" He said: "His father was the friend of my father; his heart was (18) much attached to him." (19) Pharaoh said: "Let (20) Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi be brought!" They ran for <Ankhsheshonqy son of> Tjainufi; they ran and returned, bringing him (21) before Pharaoh at once.

Pharaoh said to him: "Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi, did

you eat (22) my bread and hear evil against me without coming to inform me of it, saying, 'They are conspiring against you to kill you'?" (4,x) ------ (1) ------ 'Is what you are doing (2) in return to have him killed?'[70] By your face, my great lord, I did all I could against him, but he did not give me (3) an answer. I knew all along that it was a matter which could not be hidden from Pharaoh."

As soon as he had said this, Pharaoh (4) had an earthen pyre built at the door of the palace. He had Harsiese son of Ramose placed (5) in the fire together with all his people and every man who had assented to the misfortune of Pharaoh. He had (6) Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi taken to the houses of detention of Daphnae. They assigned to him a personal servant (and) a staff-(7)bearer, (and) a man of the household, who belonged to Pharaoh. And his food was brought from the palace (8) daily.

After this there occurred the accession-day of Pharaoh. Pharaoh released every man who was (9) in the prisons of Daphnae except Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi. His heart sank (10) on account of it. He said to the staff-bearer who had been assigned to him: "Let this favor be done to me through you. Let there be brought to me a (11) palette and a papyrus roll, because I have a boy ‹whom› I have not yet been able to instruct. (12) I shall write an Instruction for him and have it taken to him in Heliopolis to instruct him thereby." The staff-bearer said: "I will report (13) it to Pharaoh first." The staff-bearer reported (14) it to Pharaoh first. Pharaoh commanded, saying: "Let a palette be taken to him; do not let a papyrus roll be taken (15) to him." They took a palette to him; they did not take a papyrus roll to him. He wrote on the sherds of jars the matters which he could (16) teach his son, (as) written.[71]

(17) This is the Instruction which the divine father Ankh-

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70 In the lost lines at the top of column 4, Ankhsheshonqy repeated to Pharaoh the speech by which he had tried to dissuade his friend Harsiese from taking part in the plot.

71 It looks as if sh, "It is written," could serve not only as an ending but also as a beginning.

sheshonqy son of Tjainufi, whose mother was ⌜Sitnebu⌝,[72] wrote for his son on the sherds (18) of the jars that were brought in to him containing mixed wine, while he was imprisoned in the houses of detention of Daphnae. He (19) said:

Mistreatment and misery, my great lord Pre! Imprisonment and mistreatment are done to me because I did not (20) kill a man! This is your abomination, my great lord Pre! Is this not how Pre is angry with a land? O (21) you people who shall find these potsherds, hear from me how Pre is angry with a land!

(5,x) ------
(5,1) [If Pre is angry] with a land, he causes ------.
(2) [If] Pre is angry with a land, its ruler neglects the law.
(3) If Pre is angry with a land, he makes law cease in it.
(4) If Pre is angry with a land, he makes sanctity cease in it.
(5) If Pre is angry with a land, he makes justice cease in it.
(6) If Pre is angry with a land, he makes value scarce in it.
(7) If Pre is angry with a land, he does not let one be trusting in it.
(8) If Pre is angry with a land, he does not let one ⌜receive ransom⌝ in it.
(9) If Pre is angry with a land, he makes great its small men and makes small its great men.
(10) If Pre is angry with a land, he sets the fools over the learned ones.
(11) If Pre is angry with a land, he commands its ruler to mistreat its people.
(12) If Pre is angry with a land, he appoints its scribe to command it.
(13) If Pre is angry with a land, he appoints its washerman as chief of police.

(14) Here follow the words that Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi wrote on (15) the sherds of the jars that were brought in

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72 On the reading of the name see the article by Smith mentioned in note 67.

to him containing mixed wine, so as to give them (16) as an Instruction to his son, and which were reported before Pharaoh and (17) his great men daily. Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainufi had realized (18) that he was to linger in prison since they had not released him. (19) He wrote on the sherds of the jars the matters that he could teach his son, (as) written.

(6,x) ------
(6,1) S⌈erve your⌉ god, that he may guard you.
(2) Serve your brothers, that you may have good repute.
(3) Serve a wise man, that he may serve you.
(4) Serve him who serves you.
(5) Serve any man, that you may be useful.[73]
(6) Serve your father and mother, that you may go and be successful.[74]
(7) Examine every matter, that you may know it.
(8) Small-of-wrath and great-of-heart makes a good heart.[75]
(9) It is after ⌈becoming mature⌉ that any teaching succeeds.
(10) Do not rely on the property of another, saying, "I will live on it"; acquire your own.
(11) Do not mistreat when you fare well, lest you fare ill.
(12) Do not send a whore[76] on a business of yours; she will go after her own.
(13) Do not send a wise man in a small matter when a great matter is waiting.
(14) Do not send a fool in a great matter when there is a wise man whom you can send.
(15) Do not send into town when you may find trouble in it.
(16) Do not long for your home when you do an errand.
(17) Do not long for your home to drink beer in it in midday.

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73 Lit., "that you may find use, worth" (gm.k p3 šw).

74 The idiom šm ir mnḫ recurs in 21/12; mnḫ is here clearly not "beneficent," but rather "effective" and "successful."

75 "Small-of-wrath" (ḫm-b3.t) is "gentle," and "great-of-heart" ('w-n-ḥ3ṯ) is "patient."

76 Lit., "a low woman" (nḏs.t).

(18) Do not pamper your body, lest you become slack.
(19) Do not pamper yourself when you are young, lest you become slack when you are mature.
(20) Do not hate a man to his face when you know nothing of him.
(21) Do not fret so long as you own something.
(22) Do not worry so long as you own something.
(23) Do not fret at all.
(24) Do not fret about your occupation.

(7,x) ------
(7,1) ------.
(2) Compel [your son], do not let your slave compel him.
(3) Do not spare your son work when you can make him do it.
(4) Do not instruct a fool, lest he hate you.
(5) Do not instruct him who will not listen to you.
(6) Do not rely on a fool.
(7) Do not rely on the property of a stupid man.
(8) Do not hide and then let yourself be found.
(9) Do not hide when you have no food.
(10) He who hides when he has no food is in the place of him who seeks him.
(11) Do not go away and then come back of your own accord.
(12) Do not go away after you have been beaten, lest your punishment be doubled.
(13) Do not take liberties with your superior.
(14) Do not neglect to serve your god.
(15) Do not neglect to serve your master.
(16) Do not neglect to serve him who can serve you.
(17) Do not neglect to acquire a manservant and a maidservant when you are able to do it.
(18) A servant/slave who is not beaten, great is cursing in his heart.
(19) A small man with great wrath makes much stench.
(20) A great man with small wrath gets much praise.
(21) Do not say "young man" to one who is mature.
(22) Do not belittle in your heart one who is mature.
(23) Do not hasten when you speak, lest you give offense.

(24) Do not say right away what comes out of your heart.

(8,x) ------
(8,1) ------.
(2) Learning and foolishness belong to the people of your town; honor the people of your town.
(3) Do not say "I am learned"; betake yourself to become wise.
(4) Do not do a thing that you have not first examined.
(5) Examining makes your good fortune.
(6) If you examine three wise men about a matter it is perfect; the outcome lies with the great god.
(7) Do well by your body in your days of well-being.
(8) There is no one who does not die.
(9) Do not withdraw from a scribe who is being taken to the house of detention.
(10) If you withdraw from him they will take him to his house of eternity.
(11) Do not go to court against your superior when you do not have protection.
(12) Do not take to yourself a woman whose husband is alive, lest he become your adversary.
(13) Whether times are strait or joyful, wealth grows by spreading it.
(14) May your fate not be the fate of one who begs and is given.
(15) When you work the land do not pamper your body.
(16) Do not say "Here is my brother's acre"; look to your own.
(17) The wealth of a town is a master who renders judgment.
(18) The wealth of a temple is sanctity.
(19) The wealth of a field is the time when it is worked.
(20) The wealth of a storehouse is its stock.
(21) The wealth of a treasury is a single hand.
(22) The wealth of property is a wise woman.
(23) The wealth of a wise man is his speech.

(9,x) ------
(9,1) The wealth ------.
(2) The wealth of an army is [a leader].

(3) The wealth of a town is not taking sides.
(4) The wealth of a craftsman is his equipment.
(5) Do not scorn a document that has a claim on you.
(6) Do not scorn a remedy that you can use.
(7) Do not scorn Pharaoh's business.[77]
(8) Do not scorn a matter that concerns a cow.
(9) He who scorns matters often will die of it.
(10) Do not quarrel over a matter in which you are wrong.
(11) Do not say "My land thrives," do not cease to inspect it.
(12) Do not dwell in a house with your in-laws.
(13) Do not act the neighbor to one superior to you.
(14) Do not say "I have plowed the field but there has been no return"; plow again, it is good to plow.
(15) More joyous is he who rests above the field than he who spends the day in town.
(16) Do not say "It is summer"; there is winter too.
(17) He who does not gather wood in summer will not be warm in winter.
(18) Do not dwell in a house from which you get no income.
(19) Do not deposit your wealth in a house to excess.
(20) Do not leave your wealth alone (i.e. unguarded) in a house.
(21) Do not leave your wealth in a town to which you must send.
(22) Wealth takes hold of its owner.
(23) The owner of the cow is he who is able to run.
(24) Do not spend before you have set up your storehouse.
(25) You should spend according to the size of your means.

(10,x) ------
(10,1) Do not say ------.
(2) Do not say "I am good at writing" ------.
(3) A scribe ⌜in a carpentry shop⌝ , a craftsman ...
(4) When the crocodile shows itself its reputation is measured.

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77 Mt.t pr-'3 here probably has its literal meaning, "matter of Pharaoh," in the sense of state affairs or taxes, rather than the abstract meaning "royalty," which is suitable in PInsinger 4/4 and 23/25.

(5) A crocodile does not die of ⌜worry⌝, it dies of hunger.
(6) "What they do insults me," says the fool when one instructs him.
(7) You may trip over your foot in the house of a great man; you should not trip over your tongue.
(8) If you are thrown out of the house of your master, be his doorkeeper.
(9) If your master is sitting by the river, do not
(10) immerse your hand in front of him.
(11) May my brother be a groom! When he mounts I would boast.
(12) May my friend say ⌜"Thoth knows not."⌝
(13) May he not die for whom I would rend my clothing!
(14) May the 'elder brother' of the town be the one to whom it is entrusted!
(15) May the kindly brother of the family be the one who acts as 'elder brother' for it!
(16) May I have something and my brother have something, that I may eat without desisting!
(17) May the floodwater never fail to come!
(18) May the field never fail to flourish!
(19) May the poor plot of land be the one that grows fodder to excess!
(20) May the cow receive her bull!
(21) May the son do honor to his father!
(22) May it be a master's son who becomes master!
(23) May my mother be my hairdresser, so as to do for me what is pleasant!
(24) May the moon succeed the sun and not fail to rise!
(25) May existence always succeed death!

(11,x) ------
(11,1) May I ------.
(2) May I stretch out my hand to my --- ...
(3) May I get to know my neighbor, so that I may give him my goods!
(4) May I get to know my brother, that I may open my heart to him!
(5) Do not be a hindrance often, lest you be reviled.

(6) Do not get drunk often, lest you rave.
(7) Take a wife when you are twenty years old, that you may have a son while you are young.
(8) Do not kill a snake and then leave its tail.
(9) Do not hurl a lance if you are not able to control its aim.
(10) He who sends spittle to the sky, upon his face it falls.
(11) A man's character is his family.
(12) A man's character is his ⌜destiny⌝.
(13) A man's character is on his face.
(14) A man's character is one of his limbs.
(15) The fisherman ⌜throws on board⌝ without knowing that it is the god who sends to every house.
(16) Do not stay till evening on the road, saying "I am sure of the houses"; you do not know the hearts of their inhabitants.
(17) A thieving guard, his son is poor.
(18) Do not let your donkey grip the palm tree, lest he shake it.
(19) Do not laugh at your son in front of his mother; you do not know the size of his father.
(20) It is not of a bull that a bull is born.
(21) Do not say "The enemy of the god is alive today"; look to the end.
(22) Say "Good fate" at the end of old age.
(23) Leave your affairs in the hand of the god.

(12,x) ------
(12,1) Do not ------.
(2) Do not let your ------ suffer.
(3) Man does not know his days of need.
(4) Do not entrust your people to one who has not experienced distress.
(5) Do not delay to get yourself a tomb on the mountain; you do not know the length of your lifetime.
(6) Do not do evil to a man, so as to cause another to do it to you.
(7) Do not be discouraged about that which you can examine.

(8) Happy is the heart of him who has made a judgment before a wise man.
(9) A wise master who examines, his house stands forever.
(10) Disdain ruins a great man.
(11) A great crime that ⌜has begun⌝ is what one ...
(12) The work of a fool does not succeed in a house where a wise man is.
(13) Let your wife see your wealth; do not entrust it to her.
(14) Do not entrust her with her provisions for one year.
(15) As long as my brother does not desist from stealing, I do not desist from restraining him.
(16) Do not retaliate; do not let one retaliate against you.
(17) Let your benefaction reach him who has need of it.
(18) Do not be stingy; wealth is no security.
(19) Even a kind master will kill to have peace.
(20) The prudent killer does not get killed.
(21) Do not undertake something which you are not able to do.
(22) Do not speak in a strong voice to a man if you are not able to make him yield by it.
(23) High is the voice of him who acts when he has been commanded.
(24) Do not say something when it is not the time for it.

(13,x) ------
(13,1) ------.
(2) A wise man seeks ⌜a friend, a fool⌝ seeks an enemy.
(3) A man to whom a good deed was done in the past cannot repay it.
(4) Bad is the fate .....
(5) Do not give your son to a wet-nurse and cause her to abandon her own.
(6) The friend of a fool is a fool, the friend of a wise man a wise man.
(7) The friend of a stupid man is a stupid man.
(8) The mother gives birth, the way makes a friend.
(9) Every man acquires property; it is a wise man who knows how to protect it.
(10) Do not hand over your property to your younger brother,

(10) so as to let him become your elder brother thereby.
(11) Do not prefer one of your children to another; you do not know which of them will be kind to you.
(12) If you find your wife with her lover get yourself a worthy bride.
(13) Do not acquire a maidservant for your wife if you do not have a manservant.
(14) Do not acquire two voices.
(15) Speak truth to all men; let it cleave to your speech.
(16) Do not open your heart to your wife; what you have spoken to her is for the street.
(17) Do not open your heart to your wife or to your servant.
(18) Open it to your mother; the woman is ⌜discreet⌝.
(19) A woman - her affairs is what she knows.
(20) Instructing a woman is (having) a sack of sand whose side is split open.
(21) Her savings are stolen goods.
(22) What she does with her husband today she does with another man tomorrow.
(23) Do not sit down beside one greater than you.
(24) Do not have a youth for your companion.

(14,x) ------
(14,1) ------.
(2) He will make him give it in [his sten]ch while the condemnation of the god is yet after him.[78]
(3) Do not make a thief your companion, [lest] he cause you to be killed.
(4) Even a small matter has a man in its grip.
(5) Slander a house, it dies of it.[79]
(6) He who is patient in a bad situation will not be harmed by it.

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78 On this sentence see below p. 95, note b.
79 See below p. 96, note i.

(7) He who steals from the property of another will not profit by it.
(8) If you become the companion of a wise man whose heart you do not know, do not open your heart to him.
(9) If you do good to a hundred men and one of them acknowledges it, no part of it is lost.
(10) Make burnt offering and libation before the god; let the fear of him be great in your heart.
(11) A thief steals by night; he is found by day.
(12) Do not make many words.
(13) A household is open to him who has goods in his hand.
(14) He who was bitten of the bite of a snake is afraid of a coil of rope.
(15) The man who looks in front of him does not stumble and fall.
(16) Do not abandon a woman of your household who does not conceive and give birth.
(17) Good fortune turns away destruction by a great god.
(18) Honor your fellowman so that your heart grows and you too gain.
(19) Do not let your servant lack his food and clothing.
(20) Do not cast glances at another's property, lest you become poor.
(21) Do not trespass on the territory of another.
(22) Do not put a house on farmland.
(23) Do not cause a man to sue you.

(15,x) ------
(15,1) Do not ------.
(2) Do not --- something which your master ---
(3) There is no --- reaches the sky.
(4) There is no --- [fails] to cry.
(5) Do not say "I did a good deed to this man but he did not acknowledge it to me."
(6) There is no good deed except the good deed that you have done for him who has need of it.
(7) If you have reached your prime and gained much property, let your brothers be great with you.

(8) Need, if its condition becomes known in the street, is reckoned a disgrace.
(9) When a youth who has been taught thinks, thinking of deceit is what he does.
(10) When a man has earned his first money, he spends it on drinking and eating.
(11) When a man smells of myrrh, his wife is a monkey before him.
(12) When a man is suffering, his wife is a lion before him.
(13) Do not be afraid to do that in which you are right.
(14) Do not commit theft; you will be found out.
(15) Do not let your son take a wife from another town, lest he be taken from you.
(16) Better is muteness than a hasty tongue.
(17) Better is sitting than doing a mean errand.
(18) Do not say "I undertook the matter," if you did not undertake it.
(19) Being evil will not provide for you.
(20) Gluttony will not give you food.
(21) If you are sent to get chaff and you find wheat, do not buy.
(22) If you trade in straw which is wanted, you should not go around with wheat.
(23) Do not do to a man what you hate, so as to cause another to do it to you.
(24) Do not consort with a man who is discouraged and who may say "I have an hour of discouragement."
(25) A hundred men are slain through one hour of discouragement.

(16,x) ------
(16,1) Do not ---, [lest you be] poor forever.
(2) Do not ------ and you agree.
(3) Do not [let] your schoolboy son go to the door of the storehouse in a lean year.
(4) Do not go to your brother when you are suffering; go to your friend.
(5) Do not drink water in the house of a merchant; he will charge you for it.

(6) Do not cast a slave into the hand of his master.[80]
(7) Do not say "My master dislikes me, I will not serve him."
(8) Zealous service removes dislike.
(9) Borrow money at interest and invest it in farmland.
(10) Borrow money at interest and take a wife.
(11) Borrow money at interest and celebrate your birthday.
(12) Do not borrow money at interest in order to live high on it.
(13) Do not swear falsely when you suffer, lest you become worse off than you are.
(14) Do not ask advice from the god and then pass by what he said.
(15) Do not laugh at a cat.
(16) Do not speak of Pharaoh's business when drinking beer.[81]
(17) Do not make a judgment in which you are deceitful.
(18) Do not be fainthearted in a bad situation.
(19) Do not hide from a stranger who comes from outside.
(20) If there is nothing in your hand there may be something in his.
(21) Do not lend money at interest without a pledge in hand.
(22) Do not be too trusting lest you become poor.
(23) Do not dislike him who may say to you "I am your brother.
(24) My share in my father's house is small, it will not increase."
(25) Do not belittle a small document, a small fire, a small soldier.

(17,x) ------
(17,1) ------.
(2) [Do not] --- your property ... --- another.
(3) [Do not take] liberties with a woman whose husband listens to your voice.
(4) [Do not be ashamed] to do the work by which you can live.
(5) Do not acquire goods if you do not have a storehouse.

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80 Compare Prov 30:10: "Do not denounce a slave to his master."
81 On "Pharaoh's business" see note 77.

(6) Do not accept a gift if you are not going to make a contract.
(7) Do not say "Gone is my malady, I'll not use remedy."
(8) Do not go away (from work) often, lest you become disliked.
(9) Do not cast a weary glance at the door-bolt.
(10) Do not hasten when speaking before your master.
(11) Do not run hard lest you must halt.
(12) Do not often clean yourself with water only.
(13) Water grinds the stone.
(14) Do not walk the road without a stick in your hand.
(15) Do not ... a man before his trial partner.
(16) Do not walk alone in the evening.
(17) Do not scorn your master before an inferior.
(18) If you have grown up with a man and fare well with him, do not abandon him when he fares ill.
(19) Let him attain his house of eternity.
(20) He who comes after him will support you.
(21) A woman who is loved, if one abandons her she is (truly) abandoned.
(22) Inspect your house at all times and you will find its thief.
(23) Teach your son to write, plow, fowl and trap against a year of low Nile, so that he will reap the profit of what he has done.
(24) Gather dung, gather dirt, (but) do not make a profession out of scavenging.
(25) Do not make many speeches before your master.
(26) Be small of wrath so that your reputation will be great in the hearts of all men.

(18,x) ------
(18,1) ------.
(2) [If] a gardener becomes a fisherman his [trees] perish.
(3) [If] you have got --- give one part for protection.
(4) [If you] work the land do not practice deception.
(5) Better an honorable failing than a half success.
(6) If you are powerful throw your documents into the river; if you are weak throw them also.

(7) If a poor man says "I will kill you," he will surely kill you.
(8) If a rich man says "I will kill you," lay your head on his doorstep.
(9) Give a hundred silver pieces to a prudent woman; do not accept two hundred from a foolish one.
(10) He who battles together with the people of his town will rejoice together with them.
(11) The children of the fool wander in the street, those of the wise man are ⌜by his side⌝.
(12) He who hides from his master will get a hundred masters.
(13) A man who has no town, his character is his family.
(14) A man who has no property, his wife is his partner.
(15) Do not rejoice in your wife's beauty; her heart is set on a lover.
(16) Do not say "I have this wealth, I will not serve god nor will I serve man."
(17) Wealth comes to an end; serving the god is what creates (it).
(18) Do not send to someone whom you do not know at all.
(19) He who loves his house so as to dwell in it warms himself by its beams.
(20) He who hates it builds it and ⌜mortgages⌝ it.
(21) Do not be despondent when you are ill; your landing is not made yet.
(22) Do not say "I shall give this property to this man," if you are not going to give it to him.
(23) Take a rich man to your house, take a poor man to your boat.
(24) When Hapy comes he assigns to everyone.
(25) When the fish are brought up from the flood, he sends[82] him who would eat it.

(19,x) ------
(19,1) ... ------.

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82 Assuming that "he" refers to Hapy, the inundating Nile, of line 24.

(2) ... ------ death ... ------ life.
(3) Sweeter is water to him who gives it than wine to him who [receives] it.
(4) If a cow is stolen in the field, it is in town that her owner is contended with.
(5) If your enemy seeks you do not hide from him.
(6) If a bird flies to the place of another a feather will fall from it.
(7) There is no son of Pharaoh at night.
(8) If a stupid man repents he becomes a wise man.
(9) A man does not love him who hates him.[83]
(10) Do a good deed and cast it in the flood; when it dries you will find it.
(11) When two brothers quarrel do not come between them.
(12) He who comes between two brothers when they quarrel will be placed between them when they are reconciled.
(13) If the daughter of one who is strong is the one who eats, her ⌜rival⌝ is the daughter of ...
(14) If the son of the master acted as master, the people would not worship before the god.
(15) Do not be impatient when you are suffering so that you beg for death.
(16) He who is alive, his herb grows.
(17) There is none wretched except him who is dying (or, has died).
(18) With a thousand servants in the merchant's house, the merchant is one of them.
(19) If your master speaks wisdom to you, you should fear him.
(20) A wise man is one who knows what passes by before him.
(21) Give your words with your goods and it will make two gifts.

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83 The construction p3 nty mst.f s is ambiguous, as it can mean "him whom he hates," or "him who hates him." The latter meaning is more likely, especially in view of the talmudic saying אין אוהב שונא , "No one loves an enemy" (JT Berakhot 9,5). The noun שונא "hater" = "enemy," occurs in Prov 25:21 with the object suffix, "your hater" = "your enemy." Note also that the phrase "what you hate" is construed as a feminine, t3 nty mst.k s, in Ankhsh. 15/23.

(22) Beer matures only on its mash.
(23) Wine matures as long as one does not uncover it.
(24) A remedy is good only in the hand of its physician.
(25) If you are given bread for foolishness you may despise instruction.

(20,x) ------
(20,1) ------.
(2) ... ------.
(3) ... ------.
(4) End by planting any tree, begin by planting a sycamore.
(5) The warp is no stranger to the woof.
(6) All good fortune is from the hand of the god.
(7) A single plowing does not make ...
(8) A single measuring is not adequate.
(9) The hissing of the snake is more effective than the braying of the donkey.
(10) There is a running better than which is sitting.
(11) There is a sitting better than which is standing.
(12) Do not dwell in a house which is ill; death not say "I am coming."
(13) A snake that is eating has no venom.
(14) A window with a wide opening gives more heat than coolness.
(15) All kinds of cattle are welcome in a house; a thief is not welcome.
(16) To approach a fool is to flee him.
(17) If you harness a big team you may lie down in its shade.
(18) Honor the old men in your heart and you will be honored in the hearts of all men.
(19) A woman lets herself be loved according to the character of her husband.
(20) A man does not eat what is under his eyes.
(21) Even if filled with soap, a storehouse has its use.
(22) The waste of a house is not dwelling in it.
(23) The waste of a woman is not knowing her.
(24) The waste of a donkey is carrying bricks.
(25) The waste of a boat is carrying straw.

(21,x) ------
(21,1) There is no --- ... ---.
(2) There is no --- ... ---.
(3) There is no --- ... buried.
(4) There is no tooth that rots yet stays in place.
(5) There is no Nubian who leaves his skin.[84]
(6) There is no friend who passes away alone.
(7) There is no wise man who finds loss.
(8) There is no fool who finds profit.
(9) There is none who insults his superior who is not in turn insulted.
(10) There is none who abandons his travel companion whom the god does not hold to account for it.
(11) There is none who engages in deceit who is not deceived.
(12) There is none who errs and goes and is successful.
(13) Do not hasten to reach a guard and then draw back from him.
(14) He who is ashamed to sleep with his wife will not have children.
(15) Do not be greedy, lest you be scolded.[85]
(16) Do not be stingy, lest you be hated.
(17) Do not steal copper and cloth from the house of your master.
(18) Do not violate a married woman.
(19) He who violates a married woman on the bed will have his wife violated on the ground.
(20) Better a statue of stone than a foolish son.
(21) Better no brother than an erring one.
(22) Better death than want.
(23) If you are thirsty at night let your mother give you to drink.
(24) Do not stay in a town in which you have no one.
(25) If you stay in a town in which you have no one, your character is your family.

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84 Compare Jeremiah 13:23.

85 On <u>štm</u>, "slander, scold" see 14/5 with note 79.

(22,x) ------
(22,1) ------.
(2) Do not raise ------.
(3) Do not start a fire [if you are not] able to [put] it [out].
(4) Give your daughter in marriage to a goldsmith; [do not] give --- [to] his daughter.
(5) He who shakes the stone, upon his foot it falls.
(6) He who makes love to a woman of the street, his purse will be cut open on its side.
(7) One does not load a beam on a donkey.
(8) If a woman loves a crocodile she takes on its character.
(9) Woman by night, praise by day.
(10) Do not speak blame of a woman who is loved.
(11) Do not speak praise of a woman who is hated.
(12) A fool wanting to go with a wise man is a goose wanting to go with its slaughter knife.
(13) A fool in a house is like fine clothes in a wine cellar.
(14) An ailing house does not take hold of a stranger.
(15) A crocodile does not take hold of a townsman.
(16) When you are hungry eat what you despise, when you are sated despise it.
(17) He who has not got his eye on the river should have his mind on the water jugs.
(18) If you come to say something to your master count on your fingers till ten.
(19) Give one loaf to your laborer, receive two from (the work of) his arms.
(20) Give one loaf to the one who labors, give two to the one who gives orders.
(21) Do not insult the common man.
(22) When insult occurs beating occurs.
(23) When beating occurs killing occurs.
(24) Killing does not occur without the god knowing.
(25) Nothing occurs except what the god commands.

(23,x) ------
(23,1) ------.

(2) ... ------.
(3) ... ------.
(4) Silence conceals foolishness.
(5) ... ------.
(6) Do not make love to a married woman.
(7) He who makes love to a married woman is killed on her doorstep.
(8) It is better to dwell in your small house than to dwell in the large house of another.
(9) Better is small wealth gathered than large wealth scattered.
(10) A slip of the tongue in the royal palace is a slip of the helm at sea.
(11) A bull does not call to a calf; a great stable does not perish.
(12) The way of the god is before all men (but) the fool cannot find it.
(13) "Am I going to live?" says he who is dying.
(14) Every hand is stretched out to the god but he accepts only the hand of his beloved.
(15) A monkey that loves fruit hates him who eats it.
(16) "Your word is my word" says the weakling.
(17) Do not be active in all sorts of work and slack in your work.
(18) He who is not slack, his father will be active for him.
(19) The builders build houses, the musicians inaugurate them.
(20) The frogs praise Hapy, the mice eat the emmer.
(21) The oxen harvest the barley and emmer, the donkeys eat it.
(22) Do not ⌜grovel⌝ before a great man.
(23) Do not drink water of a well and then throw the pitcher into it.
(24) Belly of woman, heart of horse.

(24,x) ------
(24,1) ------.
(2) --- ... ---.
(3) --- ... ---.
(4) If much wealth accrues to you ------.

(5) --- ... --- you will die.
(6) Do not marry an ailing woman.
(7) If a donkey goes with a horse it adopts its pace.
(8) If a crocodile loves a donkey it puts on a wig.
(9) One uses a horse to go after a [lion]; one does not take a donkey to attain it.
(10) Man is even better at copulating than a donkey; his purse is what restrains him.
(11) One gives bread to the inspector for inspecting; if he does not inspect one cuts it off.
(12) Yesterday's drunkenness does not quench today's thirst.
(13) Better self-control in hunger than death in want.
(14) Do not be ashamed to do your --- without scorning it.
(15) If you quarrel with your [master] do not tell him you are patient.
(16) If a town comes to ... --- ...
(17) If a town comes to ruin ... ---
(18) He who does not carry his father's wheat will carry the chaff of the storehouses.
(19) Do not take charge of a matter if you cannot take charge to its end.
(20) A woman is a stone quarry; the ... works her.
(21) A good woman of noble character is food that comes in time of hunger.
(22) I have no profit from my son if I do not ...
(23) I have no profit from my servant if he does not do my work.
(24) I have no profit from my brother if he does not take care of me.

(25,x) ------
(25,1) ------.
(2) Do not ------ poor.
(3) Do not ------ him.
(4) Many are --- the god --- more than the appearances of Pre in the great hall.
(5) If [a woman is at peace] with her husband it is the influences of the god.

(6) Do not sell your house and your income for the sake of one day and then be poor forever.
(7) Do not remove a common man from the property of Pharaoh, lest he destroy you and your family.
(8) Do not take --- of a woman to your heart.
(9) She is a ⌜harmful⌝ woman who does not leave a tree undamaged.
(10) Know how to send to the palace of Pharaoh.
(11) Know how to sit in the presence of Pharaoh.
(12) Know the constitution of the sky.
(13) Know the constitution of the earth.
(14) May the heart of the wife be the heart of her husband, that they may be far from strife.
(15) Choose a prudent husband for your daughter; do not choose for her a rich husband.
(16) Spend one year eating what you possess and spend three years ---.
(17) Do not marry an impious woman, lest she give your children an impious upbringing.
(18) If a woman is at peace with her husband they will never fare badly.
(19) If a woman whispers about her husband [they will never] fare well.
(20) If a woman does not like the property of her husband she has another man [in her] heart.
(21) A whoring woman does not have a life.
(22) A bad woman does not have a husband.
(23) The wife of a fool ------.
(24) I have no ------ I have no ---.

(26,x) ------
(26,1) ------.
(2) ------.
(3) [There is] --- [for ⌜throwing⌝] a man out.
(4) [There is] a stick for bringing him in.
(5) There is imprisonment for giving life.
(6) There is release for killing.
(7) There is he who saves and does not find.

(8) All are from the hand of the fate and the god.
(9) All illness is distressing; the wise man knows (how to) be ill.
(10) It is to its doer that the deed happens.
(11) It is into the heart that the god looks.
(12) It is in battle that [a man] finds a brother.
(13) It is on the road that a man finds a companion.
(14) The plans of the god are one thing, the thoughts [of men] are another.
(15) The plans of the fishermen are one thing ------.
(16) If a merchant finds a merchant ------.
(17) There is one who plows and does not [reap].
(18) There is one who reaps and does not [⌜eat⌝].
(19) He whose ... ------.
(20) He who bears ... ------.
(21) He who digs a pit [for another falls into it].
(22) I love my friend ------.
(23) There is no greater protection ------.

(27,x) ------
(27,1) ------.
(2) ... ------ ...
(3) A fool who does not know ------.
(4) Do not cause another to be well off --- badly off yourself.
(5) If ------ to the ground.
(6) ... ------.
(7) If a wife is of nobler birth [than her husband] he should give way to her.
(8) --- ... --- say to him "Do not," he will say "I will."
(9) If one orders you --- your body ... fare ill.
(10) Another's instruction does not enter the heart of the fool; what is in his heart is in his heart.
(11) Do not say ------ disdain.
(12) ... ------ because of the god.
(13) A man who quarrels with the people of his town is poor forever.
(14) Do not dwell in a house that is cursed by the god, lest

(14) his destruction turn against you.
(15) Do not ------.
(16) If one leaves a wise man ------ he perishes.
(17) If I ------ I find my right.
(18) If I fear --- ... ---.
(19) If you do not --- whom will you call in distress?
(20) Do not ------ your adversary ---.
(21) If you ------ the god.
(22) Do not call ------ if he is not with you.
(23) ------.

(28,x) ------
(28,1) ------.
(2) Do not say "I have much wealth" and --- your superior.
(3) Speak kindly to [your] servants ------.
(4) Do not have a merchant for a friend; [he] lives for taking a slice.
(5) Do not let [your wife] linger --- without inquiring after her.
(6) Let ------ repay ------.
(7) Do not often speak wrathfully to a common man, lest you be disdained.
(8) Do not often speak --- to a common man, lest he be ruined by ...
(9) Do not ------, lest he find out what you are doing.
(10) Do not weary of calling to the god; he has his hour for hearing the scribe.
(11) (It is) written.

III. MINOR WISDOM TEXTS

1. The Louvre Demotic Papyrus 2414

Pap. Dem. Louvre 2414 has been available for study since Volten published it with photographs in 1955.[86] The text is replete with difficulties, and Volten's edition was both valiant and faulty. No further work seems to have been done on it, but now a new translation from the pen of G. R. Hughes is about to appear in a Festschrift honoring R. J. Williams. Hughes has very kindly given me a copy of his typescript, and my own struggles with the text have greatly profited by it. In the translation that follows the departures from Volten's transcription and translation are noted with reference to the annotated translation of Hughes.

As Volten described it, the text is written on the recto of a papyrus sheet on which it is preceded by the Demotic draft of a plaint addressed to a king by one Harmais. This plaintiff is named as his companion on a similar plaint written in Greek by the katochos Ptolemaios son of Glaukias and addressed to King Ptolemy VI Philometor. The verso of Pap. Louvre 2414 contains a Greek inventory written by the same Ptolemaios son of Glaukias in the year 159 B.C.[87] Finding the wisdom text in such company suggests two things: a date of composition near the middle of the second century B.C., and the likelihood that the text was a draft and not a finished Instruction. Alternatively, one can view it as an excerpt from a longer work.

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86 A. Volten, Die moralischen Lehren des demotischen Pap. Louvre 2414, in Studi in memoria di I. Rosellini II (Pisa 1955) pp. 271-280 and pls. xxxiv & xxxv.

87 See U. Wilcken, Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit I (Berlin-Leipzig 1927) 127 and 133ff.

1.1 Translation

Column I

(1) The instruction of P3-wr-dl <which> he gave to his beloved son.[a]
(2) He who reports property to the god and then fails to give it, it is in his stench that he will give it to him.[b]
(3) The thief of the town is the lion in its heart;[c] do not make him your companion, lest he cause you to be killed.[d]
(4) (The) wall of the town is its guard.[e]
(5) The twnn of the town is its ...[f]
(6) The master of the town is its rich man.[g]
(7) A man who is faring toward death is he who goes to a woman <who> has a husband.
(8) A man <whose> wrath is small ⌜creates⌝ praise for himself.[h]
(9) He who slanders a house which is dying ⌜creates⌝ stench for himself.[i]
(10) A house is open to him who has something in his hand.[j]
(11) ⌜Praise does not speak (to) the ear⌝[k]
(12) Teach your son so that the land may love him.[l]
(13) A man who does not have a fellow townsman, his character is his family.[m]
(14) Do not burn[n] lest you be scorned.

Column II

(1) Do not slander lest you be slandered.
(2) Do not make an evil man your companion.[o]
(3) Do not hinder[p] a fool.
(4) Do not build your house until you have ...[q]
(5) Do not scorn your documents (or, books);
(6) It is for strength that they have become old.[r]
(7) Do not disregard an insult[s] so that awe and fear (of you) may come about.
(8) Do not disregard an insult of your wife; ...
(9) ⌜give her⌝ her property.[t]
(10) Do not curse your master before the god.
(11) Do not curse one whom you do not know.

(12) Do not say to your master "I shall give you the property, <when> you do not possess it.[u]
(13) Do not say "I can ⌜bewitch⌝ the river," and then you ...[v]
(14) Do not slander a man, let him live.

Column III
(1) Do not love your son (i.e., do not prefer your eldest son) lest ⌜another⌝ son contend with him.[w]
(2) Do not disregard an insult of your son ...
(3) ...[x]
(4) Do not let your son take a wife after his own heart,
(5) so that he shall not lack what you make.[y]
(6) Do not let yourself be sent (on an errand) and cause that another is sent after you.[z]
(7) Do not give your son to a wet-nurse except a wet-nurse
(8) <who> has a husband.
(9) Do not build your house upon your mansion-of-eternity.
(10) Do not build your house near a temple.
(11) Do not go about with a stupid man.
(12) Do not stop to listen to his voice.
(13) Do not vex the heart of your friend with a ⌜trifling inquiry⌝.[aa]
(14) Do not assume the manner of a ⌜busy-body⌝.[bb]
(15) Do not send (on an errand) a man who belongs to your master.

1.2 Notes

a) As Hughes points out in his paper, P3-wr-dl is probably a personal name and not a title.

b) Hughes notes that the second part of the sentence recalls Ankhsheshonqy 14/2, and that the lost sentence in Ankhsh. 14/1 is likely to have contained the equivalent of the first part.

c) p3 3d is of course "the thief." The word after tmy is p3 m3y, "the lion" (Hughes).

d) The second part of the saying is identical with Ankhsh. 14/3. Thus lines 2-3 together are expanded versions of Ankhsh. 14/1-3, and note that they occur in the same order.

e) Read p3y.f s3wty, "its guard" (Hughes).

f) The word twnn is listed untranslated in Glossar 615. For the last two words Hughes proposed the reading tm'.t ḫm(.t), the meaning of tm'.t remaining unsolved.

g) Rmt '3 is simply "great/rich man." So also Hughes.

h) On the scribe's repeated omissions of the circumstantial iw see Hughes's comments. The word b3y or b3.t, usually taken to mean "anger, wrath," and frequent in Ankhsheshonqy and Pap. Insinger, is rendered by Hughes as "vanity, conceit," a new interpretation which I have not adopted. For the word which Volten read as 'š3 here and in the next line, despite its unusual appearance, Hughes now suggests that it looks more like km3, "to create." The last word of the line is ḫs.t, "praise." The whole sentence is the equivalent of Ankhsh. 7/20.

i) Hughes shows conclusively that the word which Volten had read šsm is in fact štm, "to slander," which occurs in Ankhsh. 21/15 and also in Ankhsh. 14/5 where Glanville, Stricker, and myself failed to recognize it. I would like to add that in Ankhsh. 21/15 the meaning "scold" is more suitable than "slander." The sentence as a whole is another case in which the Louvre scribe expanded a saying which Ankhsh. 14/5 had formulated succinctly.

j) The sentence is the equivalent of Ankhsh. 14/13.

k) Hughes connects this sentence with the preceding one and proposes drastic emendations. I would rather leave the sentence as it is, supplying only the preposition r: bn iw 3wy ḏd ‹r› msdr, "Praise does not speak ‹to› the ear." I have no parallel for "speak to the ear," and am offering this rendering only as a guess which avoids emending, the assumed meaning being that praise is not whispered into the ear but is spoken loudly.

l) The initial verb is surely mtr, "teach, correct"; so also Hughes.

m) The saying is a variant of Ankhsh. 18/13 and 21/25.

n) Volten misread the phrase as m-ir mḥ mwt, "Do not burn against ‹your› mother." Hughes considers reading m-ir mḥ (n)

m3'.t, "Do not burn for truth." I tend to take the strange looking verb for an odd spelling of mwḫmḥ, "to burn," which occurs in PInsinger 18/10, a possibility which was also considered by Volten. As to ššy, I accept it as a variant of sš, "to scorn, disdain," for which see Ankhsh. 15/8, Glossar 462, and Westendorf, Kopt. Hw. 206.

o) On the theme of "the company you keep," see above p. 46.

p) The expression ty sḫt m-s3 was interpreted by Volten as "lock the door behind," with sḫt taken to equal sḫt and Coptic sošt, "to hinder, impede." I accept the equation sḫt=sḫt, but Hughes registers objections. See also sḫt in Ankhsh. 11/5 and syḫt in PInsinger 26/9.

q) The last two words are written below the line, and the reading of the last word is problematic. Volten had read in.f, but Hughes proposes ip.f; see his comments.

r) Volten went astray because he misread the word ḏm',"papyrus roll," as if it were ḏm, "offspring." I discussed the sentence with H.J. Polotsky and we agreed on the translation here given, the point of which is that documents (or books) acquire authority precisely because they have become old. Hughes's interpretation is somewhat different, for he placed a negative sense on the "oldness" of the documents and rendered: "Do not disdain your papyrus documents (even) when to have force they are too old."

s) Hughes shows conclusively that m-ir ḫ3' hwš r-ḫry does not mean "Do not make your vexation known in the street," but rather "Do not disregard an affront," because hwš is "affront, insult," and ḫ3' r-ḫry is "lay down" = "disregard." I should like to add that this idiom is nicely matched by the idiom "raise up" = "denounce," which occurs in the Petrie Ostracon No. 11 (see p. 8). Taken together, the two sayings advise to ignore a small fault but not to disregard an insult.

t) Hughes translates: "Do not disregard an affront from your wife; beat her, give her her (woman's) possessions," and comments that my in.s p3y.s nkt cannot mean "make her take her property away" and that what is written is probably my n.s

p3y.s nkt. Now if her property is to be given her, the meaning would seem to be that she is to be sent away with her belongings, in which case the advice to beat her is neither equitable nor plausible. Harking back to Spiegelberg's rendering (Demot. Gr. § 122) "Wenn sie streitet, möge sie ihr Vermögen nehmen," I should like to settle on: "If she contends, give her her property."

u) A variant of Ankhsh. 18/22.

v) Here everything is uncertain.

w) Hughes reads bw-ir ⌜ky⌝ šr ty r-r.f.

x) I can make nothing of i.ir dr3 t3y tr.t.f. Hughes reasons that i.ir must here stand for the imperative and he renders: "Be firm, take his hand."

y) For ir 3yt, "to lack," compare Ankhsh. 14/19. My translation differs from Volten's and Hughes's.

z) On the theme see p. 46.

aa) Hughes proposes to read the last words as (n) šn ḫm.

bb) I have retained Volten's reading of the final word as pr-' and am guessing that it means a person who makes a bustle. If so, the sentence could form a pair with the preceding one.

1.3 Commentary

The resemblances with the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy are either close correspondences or identical topics similarly treated. Of the first kind are:

Lines I/1-2 = Ankhsh. 14/1-2
I/3 = Ankhsh. 14/3
I/8 = Ankhsh. 7/20
I/9 = Ankhsh. 14/5
I/10 = Ankhsh. 14/13
I/13 = Ankhsh. 18/13 and 21/24-25

In the second category there are the following topics:

Adultery: I/7, compare Ankhsh. 23/7

Teach and control your son: I/12 and III/2-3, compare Ankhsh. 7/2-3 and 17/23.

Control your wife: II/8, compare Ankhsh. 12/13-14.

Avoid fools: II/3 and III/11-12, compare Ankhsh. 7/4-6 and 20/16.

Doing errands: III/6, compare Ankhsh. 6/13-14, also PInsinger 14/7 and 21/22.

False promises: II/12, compare Ankhsh. 18/22.

Respect your master: II/10 and III/15, compare Ankhsh. 7/13.15, 13/23, 17/17, and 19/19.

Furthermore, the method of composition and the organizational devices are identical with those of Ankhsheshonqy. The basic unit is again the monostich, employed singly, or paired, or in an anaphoric chain. The sentences are either very short, or bipartite, or consist of longer periods. Such longer periods, extending over two lines, are more prominent than in Ankhsheshonqy; see II/5-6, II/8-9, III/2-3, and III/4-5.

The writer also employed the associative method by which one topic leads to another through repetition of a key word. Thus the word "man" in I/6 leads over to two topically unconnected sayings about "man" in I/7-8; and the word "house" in I/9 leads to a saying about a "house" in I/10.

The many close parallels indicate that the scribe of the Louvre text used either the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy or a source shared by both. In any case, the Louvre text appears to be the later of the two. Yet when the similarities and affinities have been noted, the differences stand out just as clearly:

1. The text has only the briefest heading and it breaks off abruptly.
2. While the handwriting is not unskilled, the grammar and the orthography are often faulty and careless.
3. The use of ordering devices is so minimal that by comparison the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy appears well organized. No topic is developed at any length.
4. The formulations are devoid of wit and lacking in Ankhsheshonqy's international reverberations.

All this and the fact that the work shares page space with two non-literary texts suggests that what we have here was an excerpt from a collection of sayings, or an exercise in the

compiling of sayings, in either case not a finished Instruction. For our inquiry into the nature of Demotic Instructions the work is significant on three counts:

1. It provides glimpses into the workshop of sapiential composition: the collecting of material consisting of individual sayings and their tentative arrangement.
2. It proves that Ankhsheshonqy's aphoristic Instruction was not an isolated phenomenon, but rather that it stood at the very center of Demotic sapiential writing, being based on and surrounded by minor or preliminary compositions compiled by the same methods.
3. It shows both the popularity of certain topics and the sheer endless possibilities of coining new sayings: by creating variations on common themes; by putting new precepts into ready-made moulds such as the vetitive injunctions and other standard sentence patterns; and by letting the imagination roam and bring in new harvests. Whether much or little effort was expended, whether the intelligence was keen or slack, all the sayings had this in common that they were minted on the standard of the laconic aphorism.

2. The Louvre Demotic Papyrus 2377 and Papyrus Michaelidis

Pap. Louvre 2414 had been found in the Memphite area together with two other papyri that also came to the Louvre. They are Pap. Louvre 2377 and 2380. On these papyri, too, the Demotic wisdom texts share the space with drafts of Greek memoranda which, as Wilcken has shown, were all written by the same hand within the four year period of 163 to 159 B.C.[88] The two Demotic texts have recently been published by R.J. Williams in the Festschrift for G.R. Hughes.[89] I confine my remarks to P. Louvre 2377, for P. Louvre 2380 is too badly broken to yield anything significant for our purposes.

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88 Wilcken, Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit I, 133ff. & 386ff.

89 Williams, Some Fragmentary Demotic Wisdom Texts, in Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes (Chicago 1976) 263-271.

The verso of P. Louvre 2377 contains thirteen brief sayings written in thirteen lines. They pose considerable problems of understanding, and I shall comment only on the first four sayings and on the final one. I reproduce them as read by Williams and append his translation without his notes:

(1) mn p3 mr p3 ḫy ḥ3ṯ m-dr p3 t3
(2) sdm ḫrw s nb gm.k p3 nty n3-nfr r ḏd.s
(3) mn p3 tn m-dr p3 sp n p3 nty iw bw ir.w rḫ s'ḫ'.f
(4) mn p3 iy m-dr md.t nfr.t n p3 nty iw.s ḫn ḥ3ṯ.f r ḏd
⌜t3⌝ ḫ---

(1) There is no loving of the haughty by the land.
(2) Listen to the voice of every man, that you may discover what is good to say.
(3) No deed brings honor to him whom they cannot reprove.
(4) No favor comes to him who has it in mind to say the ---

The readings s, "man," and tn, "honor," which Williams had put in questioning half-brackets, I accept without query, and I would translate the first two lines just as he did. But lines 3 and 4 call for some discussion. The literal rendering of line 3 is: "There is no honor from the deed of him whom they cannot reprove." Lines 3 and 4 clearly form a pair construed on a single pattern. Hence word for word, line 4 is: "There is no iy from the good deed of him who has it in his heart to say ---." Of the final word only the initial letter ḫ is clear, and the sign preceding it could be something other than the article t3. Line 3 offers no grammatical problems, but its meaning was unintelligible to me until I came across the following saying in the Sentences of Sextus:[90]

ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασιν τιμᾶσθαι θέλεις
καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν ψεγόμενος ἀνέχου

If you wish to be honored for right actions, you must bear to be reproached for misdeeds.

Here we have the explicit formulation of what the Demotic sen-

90 H. Chadwick, The Sentences of Sextus, no. 298.

tence said so concisely as to be cryptic. Now as to line 4, I suggest that iy has a meaning parallel to tn in line 3, something like "benefit" or "gain."[91] And mt.t nfr.t, here parallel to sp, is as usual, "good deed, benefaction." Hence I propose to translate: "There is no benefit from the good deed of him who has it in his heart to say ..."; and what he says would seem to be an insult. Here too a sentence of Sextus is suggestive:

ὁ δίδους ὁτιοῦν μετ' ὀνείδους ὑβρίζει

He who gives something with insults commits an outrage. (Sextus no. 339)

The whole brief collection of thirteen sayings is characterized by a manner of phrasing that is concise to the point of being elliptic. As a final example, here is line 13:

ḫ3' p3 btw n w' ḫrš sm ir.f w' iḥ

Leave the crime of a bundle of hay, it will make an ox.

Puzzled by the sentence, Williams surmised that btw, "crime," must here have the unattested meaning of "wrongdoer," and he rendered: "Leave the ⌜wrongdoer⌝ to a bundle of hay, that he may be an ox!" I think it means: "Allow the crime (of stealing) a bundle of hay, and it will become (the crime of stealing) an ox."[92]

In conclusion it may be noted that two of the human types created by gnomic literature make a brief appearance in this text: the haughty man (line 1) and the foolish one (line 5).

The papyrus fragment of a sapiential text from the Michaelidis collection which was published by Bresciani[93] consists of a single much damaged sheet containing the remnants of eighteen lines. A noteworthy feature is that the sentences are

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91 See Zauzich's remarks on iw = "payment," in his DPB I, P. Berlin 13582, note 1.

92 Compare the expression btw n sḫm.t, "crime of woman," in PInsinger 28/22 which means "the crime of violating a man as if he were a woman," i.e. sodomy.

93 E. Bresciani, Testi demotici nella collezione Michaelidis, in Oriens Antiquus 2 (1963) 1-4 & pl. I.

separated by short blank spaces, another device for indicating the monostichic form of composition and writing. Only two sentences, those in lines 10 and 12, are still complete; hence little can be said about this collection of sayings. But one feature stands out in the two complete sentences: their pithyness is the result of antithetical formulations:

(10) m-ir wy ḫr p3 myt n p3 ntr n mt.t n rmt.
(12) p3 nty ⌜3s⌝ r gm ḫw bw ir.f gm n3 ḫmw.

(10) Do not stray from the way of the god for the word of man.
(12) He who ⌜hastens⌝ to find plenty does not even find little.

Note the concept of the "way of God," which we meet again in Papyrus Insinger.

3. Two Ostraca from Deir al-Bahri

If the two Louvre Demotic papyri 2414 and 2377, and the Michaelidis fragment, are evidence for the intermediate stages in the composition of Instructions - stages lying between preliminary jottings and the finished product - the ostraca inscribed with gnomic sayings are graphic evidence of just those random jottings that were the germinal state of sapiential composition. One such ostracon was included by Williams in his publication of fragmentary Demotic wisdom texts.[94] It is a broken sherd said to have come from Deir al-Bahri, a hand-copy of which had been published by Hess.[95] Williams reports that the present whereabouts of the ostracon is unknown to him. May an alert reader rediscover it!

The ostracon begins with the phrase: "Herewith copy of one teaching (w'.t sb'.t) given by ..." The actual teaching in lines 3-4 reads:

Do not sleep with a wife who is not yours,
that no fault may be found with you because of it.

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94 Williams, op. cit. 270f.

95 J.J. Hess, Der demotische Teil der dreisprachigen Inschrift von Rosette (Freiburg 1902) 56.

This is followed in line 5 by the phrase: "Here is another one," after which there comes a saying which takes up lines 5 and 6. The final line 7 again opens with the phrase "Here is another one," after which there was a vetitive injunction of which only the first words, "Do not listen," are preserved. Now the phrase, "Here is another one" (k.t 'n t3y) illuminates in a flash the process of jotting down sayings which the scribe had heard or was picking out of writings lying before him; and it seems that he was culling sayings on a particular topic - as it happens, the topic is "women." Even if in this case the gleaning was playful it illustrates the popularity of gnomic aphorisms and their potential for use and reuse in the fashioning of Instructions.

Those who sought the help of the healing gods Imhotep and Amenhotep son of Hapu in their sanctuaries at Deir al-Bahri have left behind numerous votive inscriptions and graffiti in Egyptian and in Greek.[96] Among them is a most interesting Greek ostracon on which one Polyaratos recounts how upon visiting the sanctuary of Amenotes he was cured of his illness of many years.[97] The text begins with a date in the 25th year of Ptolemy II, and it is thus a telling witness to the symbiosis and cultural syncretism of Egyptians and Greeks as early as the third century B.C. From the same surroundings and the same time there comes the Greek ostracon that concerns us here: the limestone ostracon from Naville's excavations at Deir al-Bahri that bears the heading, "The Counsels of Amenotes" (Ἀμενώτου ὑποθῆκαι).[98] In eighteen now incomplete lines the text teaches virtue through sayings derived from the "Sayings of the Seven Sages" and other Greek sources. Citing only the first three

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96 See A. Bataille, Les inscriptions grecques du temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari (Cairo 1951); Wildung, Imhotep und Amenhotep, 220ff.

97 Wildung, ibid. 257f.

98 Wilcken, Zur ägyptisch-hellenistischen Literatur, in Festschrift für G. Ebers (Leipzig 1897) 142-152; Wildung, ibid. 258f; A.N. Oikonomides, The Commandments of Amenotes and Sansnos, in Serapis 5 (1980) 43-50; Küchler, Weisheitstraditionen, 233f.

sayings, which are complete, suffices to establish their Greek origin:

(1) Practice thoughtfulness with justice.[99]
(2) Gods and parents honor alike.[100]
(3) Consider at length but accomplish quickly whatever you do.

What was the motive for ascribing such popular Greek wisdom to the deified Egyptian sage and savior, Amenhotep son of Hapu, here called by his Greek name? Wildung posed the question without answering more than could safely be claimed: that Amenhotep son of Hapu had become a popular god for both Egyptians and Greeks.[101] Küchler ventured further and compared the attribution of Greek wisdom to an Egyptian sage to Philo's method in his Hypothetica, where commandments that are essentially Greek are ascribed to Moses.[102] The comparison is venturesome because we do not know whether the author of the Amenotes ostracon was an Egyptian, a Greek, or a Graeco-Egyptian. Only if he was an Egyptian would his motive run parallel to that of Philo: incorporating acquired Greek wisdom into the native tradition. The problem that looms before us is the nature of the impact of Hellenism on Jewish and Egyptian cultures respectively, a large topic evidently not to be entered into here. I would only remark that, except for the Greek-writing Manetho, we do not clearly discern in Graeco-Roman Egypt hellenized Egyptians comparable to the known hellenized Jewish philosophers and historians, nor Graeco-Egyptian equivalents of such sapiential works as the Gnomes of Pseudo-Phocylides. On the

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99 Two of the four cardinal virtues are named: phronesis and dikaiosyne.

100 Greek gnomic collections often began with this command.

101 Op. cit. 259: "Soll griechische Spruchweisheit den Ägyptern nahegebracht werden, indem sie dem Amenhotep zugeschrieben wird? Soll des Amenhotep Ruhm in Kreisen der griechischen Bevölkerung propagiert werden ...? Wesentlich bleibt ..., dass Amenhotep ohne Aufgabe seines national-ägyptischen Charakters für den ägyptischen und griechischen Bevölkerungsteil in gleicher Weise zur populären Götterfigur wird."

102 Küchler, Weisheitstraditionen, 222-235.

other hand, in terms of daily contacts, the symbiosis of Egyptians and Greeks in Egypt must have been close, whence the emergence of a mixed Graeco-Egyptian population, and of a religious syncretism from which issued such works as the Hymns of Isidorus in the temple of Isis-Thermuthis at Medinet Madi.[103]

So far, our study of Demotic Instructions has established two facts: first, that in adopting the aphoristic manner, Demotic wisdom had evolved along the lines of Aramaic and Greek gnomologia; and second, that the author of the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy was well acquainted with non-Egyptian wisdom. Taken together, these two facts spell out that the purveyors of Aramaic, Egyptian, and Greek wisdom worked in a medium which they recognized as being an international one. And they were all the more ready to spread and trade their wares as their subject matter was designed for teaching, persuasion, and the widest possible consumption. The contribution which the Greek ostracon of Amenotes makes is to provide an actual example of the crossing of cultural boundaries in the realm of sapiential writing: Greek moral counsels attributed to an Egyptian sage were goods to be shared by both communities.

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103 See E. Bernand, Inscriptions métriques de l'Egypte graeco-romaine (Paris 1969) 631-652; add V.F. Vanderlip, The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis (Toronto 1972) and the review by Griffiths in JEA 60 (1974) 284f. The author of these Greek hymns has sometimes been mistakenly described as an Egyptian priest. He bears no priestly title. He was either a Greek who had studied things Egyptian, so Bernand, 650-652, or a hellenized Egyptian, so in LÄ II, 875.

IV. THE INSTRUCTION OF PAPYRUS INSINGER

1. The Text

When first offered to the Louvre for purchase, the great Demotic papyrus roll which subsequently became known as Papyrus Insinger was intact. The Louvre having refused to pay the very high asking price, the papyrus was returned to Egypt. When it was acquired, in 1895, by J.H. Insinger on behalf of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden, its beginning, comprising eight or nine columns, was missing. From various accounts it became clear that the beginning portion had been broken up and the fragments sold to different persons. Portions of the missing pages were recently discovered by K.-Th. Zauzich among the papyrus fragments stored in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. Upon my request for information, Zauzich, who is preparing their publication, has very kindly sent me a brief preliminary description of his find which I reproduce below exactly as he wrote it.

Four fragmentary papyri in the Carlsberg collection in Copenhagen,[104] and smaller fragments in the museums of Florence and Berlin,[105] contain variant versions of the text, an indication that this Instruction was an often copied, hence highly valued, work.

Here is Zauzich's description of the Philadelphia pieces: Bei der Erwerbung des P. Insinger durch das Leidener Museum fehlten etwa neun Kolumnen vom Textanfang. Zahlreiche Fragmente des verschollenen Textanfanges wurden später in verschie-

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104 Volten, Kopenhagener Texte zum Demotischen Weisheitsbuch (1940) and Das Demotische Weisheitsbuch (1941).

105 Botti & Volten, Florentiner Fragmente zum Texte des Pap. Insinger, Acta Orientalia 25 (1960) 29-42; Zauzich, Berliner Fragmente zum Texte des Pap. Insinger, Enchoria 5 (1975) 119-122.

denen Sammlungen entdeckt, nämlich von Giron und Spiegelberg unter den Papyri Ricci (CRAIBL 1908, 29ff), von Sobhy unter den Papyri Kairo (JEA 16, 1930, 4, Taf. 8) und von Zauzich unter den Papyri Philadelphia (Enchoria 8.2, 1978, 34/5). Bisher sind von all diesen Fragmenten nur fünf aus den Papyri Ricci mit philologischer Bearbeitung publiziert worden (Boeser in OMRO N.R. III.1, Leiden 1922. Vgl. auch Muszynski in Enchoria 6, 1976, 23).

In Philadelphia werden unter den Inventarnummern E 16 333 bis E 16 335 sieben Papyrusfragmente aufbewahrt, die teils zum P. Insinger, teils zum P. Spiegelberg (Petubastis) gehören. Davon lassen sich drei (nach Zusammensetzung zwei) Stücke eindeutig als zum P. Insinger gehörend identifizieren und an die Papyri Ricci 1 und 3 (nach Boeser) direkt anpassen. Auf diese Weise - und nach Anfügung eines noch unpublizierten Fragmentes aus den Ricci-Papyri - ergeben sich zwei neue Kolumnen des P. Insinger, die jeweils rund 80% des Textes erhalten haben. Auf einer davon findet sich ein Kapitelschluss und die Überschrift des folgenden Kapitels:

Z. 16: In der Hand Gottes sind Ernährung, Arbeit und Leben.
[i-ir t3 ḫ'r]3.t irm t3 wp.t irm p3 gy-n-'nḫ '.wy p3 ntr tmt 50*

Z. 17: Die 3. Lehre. Der Weg dir entstehen zu lassen ... Lohn, um nicht dein Verlangen auf den Besitz eines anderen zu richten.
[t3 sb'.t] mḫ 3.t t3 my.t ty.t ḫpr n=k ... [...] bk r tm ḫ3' ḥ3.ṯ=k [r] p nkt n ky*

Einige Sprüche aus der 2. Lehre:

[Es gibt kein] Werk, das bestehen bleibt, ausser dem Werk Gottes.
[mn]wp.t iw=s mn m-s3 t3 wp.t n p3 ntr

Wegen der Sorge entsteht einem klugen Mann Reichtum aus einer kleinen Sache.
[i-ir] ḫpr rnwt.t n ḫm nkt n rmt rḫ tb3 rwš

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* Die unterstrichenen Wörter stehen auf dem Fragment Ricci 3.

Der ist kein eifriger Mann, der leicht leben kann.
[bn iw rmt] tkn in p3 nty rḫ 'nḫ tkn

Der ist kein müssiger Mann, der nicht zu essen hat.
[bn iw rmt] ḫr srf.ṯ in p3 nty ir wš ḫ'r3.t

Aus der 3. Lehre:

Gott gibt den Reichtum, der kluge Mann bewahrt ihn.
[p3 ntr p3 nty] ty.t rnn.t rmt rḫ p3 nty ty.t wḏ3
(wie S. 5/15)

Um das Herz eines anderen damit zu erproben, pflegt Gott den Reichtum entstehen zu lassen.
[ḫr tw p3] ntr ḫpr rnn.t tb3 ḏnṯ ḥ3.ṯ ky n-im=f*

Besitz verschafft selbst einem mit Schande beladenen Dummkopf noch Lob.
[ḫr tw p3] nkt ḫpr ḥs.t ḥny iw=f 3tp ḥnšṯ*

Ausser den genannten beiden Stücken befindet sich in Philadelphia unter der Inv.-Nr. E 16 335 eine in der Höhe (21 Z.) komplett erhaltene Seite, deren Zugehörigkeit zu P. Insinger oder P. Spiegelberg (Petubastis) noch nicht geklärt ist. Sie enthält Aussagen über die Werke verschiedener Götter ([Amun], Re, Ptah, Thot) und scheint zur Einleitung zu gehören.

2. The Form of the Work

Every reader of PInsinger will notice that this Instruction is an organized work. It has numbered chapters, and titles which indicate the chapters' contents. In addition, each chapter ends with a set of paradoxical statements which terminate in a refrain invoking the twin powers of Fate and Fortune as the arbiters of human destiny. Lastly, the scribe added up the total number of lines of each chapter.

Evidently, the author was intent on producing a unified work. But he did not, for the sake of unity, revert to the classical form of integrated sequences built up from poetically

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* Die unterstrichenen Wörter stehen auf dem Fragment Ricci 3.

shaped distichs and tristichs. Instead, he clung to the prose monostich and, like Ankhsheshonqy before him, he made use of the two principal devices for obtaining interconnected sequences: the pairing of monostichs and the anaphoric chain. With all his striving for integration, he abstained from adding connecting particles such as "and" and "but." When a translator adds such particles, and also prints his translation in continuous lines, as von Bissing did,[106] he obliterates the structure of the work with all its attending peculiarities. In PInsinger each sentence occupies one line on the page, while in the variant versions of the Carlsberg papyri stichic writing has been replaced by the equally effective device of empty spaces between sentences. Thus all copies of the work maintained the independence of the monostich, and the Insinger copy further emphasized it by the line count (or sentence count) at the end of each chapter.

Once in a while, the author of PInsinger created a logical and grammatical connection between two sentences by using a personal pronoun in the second sentence which refers back to a noun in the first:

> The god lays the heart on the scales opposite the weight. He knows the impious man and the pious man by his heart. (Ins. 5/7-8)

Most of the time, however, he relied on logical connections, and this was his principal method for making integrated chapters out of aphoristic monostichs. He assembled sayings on a particular topic and arranged them in a more or less coherent sequence. Not so coherent that individual sentences could not be transposed without destroying the overall sense, but sufficiently coherent to make the contents of each chapter agree with the topic named in its title. And often there is more than this minimal order, namely a real progression of thought, a true development of a theme that starts from particular cases and proceeds to clinching generalizations and emphatic climaxes. The sequence of paradoxes at the end of each chapter further

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106 Von Bissing, Altägyptische Lebensweisheit, 91-120.

underlines, though in a paradoxical manner, the lesson which the chapter sought to teach.

The Seventh Chapter, for example, deals with what to the writer were the cardinal virtues: moderation and self-control, the maintenance of the "right measure." In the first two-thirds of the chapter, moderation is taught through a series of vetitive injunctions warning against various kinds of immoderate behavior, with lines 3/1-15 forming a continuous sequence of vetitives. After that there is an alteration of vetitive injunctions and explanatory generalizations, as for instance:

> Do not be concerned about vengeance; do what is before you.
> Better the small (deed) of him who is quick than the large one of him who delays.
> Do not make your weight heavy when your balance is weak.
> The fool who is vengeful to the wretch is one who falls on the battlefield. (Ins. 3/20-23)

After this regular alternation which continues for fourteen lines (3/16-4/5) there comes an irregular sequence of vetitives and generalizations (4/6-13). Thereafter, in the last third of the chapter, there is a lengthy sequence of general statements only. Finally, there are the paradoxes that qualify the teaching. Thus, the formal devices which Ankhsheshonqy had used intermittently are here used systematically; and the connective effect of parallel or antithetical sentence structure is continuously made use of.

The overall result is that the independence of the monostich is maintained but weakened; mitigated through integration into larger units and yet upheld. The strains inherent in this method of composition are evident. On the one hand, there occurred poorly integrated monostichs which were subject to transposition in the transmission of the text, or to misunderstandings resulting in a garbled text. On the other hand, the striving for integration bent the monostich to the breaking point. The largest measure of integration was achieved in the hymn to the creator-god in chapter 24, because there the monostich was used poetically and fused into a unified composition.

But the bulk of the work was designed to dispense moral teachings by single-sentence prohibitions and arguments in a prose which though aphoristic was tied into sequences, thereby creating a hybrid product which marked the end of a line of gnomic writing.

3. The Themes and their Arrangement

The published Florentine fragments had yielded scraps of the Prologue, consisting of the self-presentation of the author who, speaking in the first person, exhorts his audience to heed his instructions. They also contained the heading of the First Chapter which reads "The teaching of the Work of God ---." Adding to this the glimpses into the Philadelphia fragments, we learn that the Second and Third Chapters dealt with gainful work and the care of property under the guidance of God. The fragments in Florence and Philadelphia furthermore show that the first chapters also contained paradoxical conclusions.

In its present state - prior to the publication of the important Philadelphia fragments - the text begins in the middle of the Sixth Chapter, an instruction dealing with behavior toward parents. Altogether, the arrangement of the work now appears as follows:

Prologue: Self-presentation of the author.
Chapter 1: The work of God.
Chapters 2-3: Gainful work and property.
Chapters 4-5: ?
Chapter 6: Honor your parents.
Chapter 7: Practice moderation and avoid a host of vices.
Chapter 8: The twin vices of gluttony and lechery.
Chapter 9: More on lechery and adultery; good & bad women.
Chapter 10: Instruct your son and do not spare the rod.
Chapter 11: Relation to superiors; give service and respect your master.
Chapter 12: Do not trust people, trust in God.
Chapter 13: Do not frequent fools and thieves.
Chapter 14: Control fools and inferiors.
Chapter 15: Shun greed; be generous.

Chapter 16: Enjoy with moderation the good things of life; think of death; the "ages of man" theme.
Chapter 17: Avoid worry; accept changes of fortune.
Chapter 18: The wise man is patient and deliberate; impatience belongs to the fool.
Chapter 19: The wise man is calm and gentle; heedless chatter belongs to the fool.
Chapter 20: Do not disdain small things.
Chapter 21: A medley of vices to be shunned.
Chapter 22: Avoid leaving your home town. Strangers are lonely and helpless.
Chapter 23: Abstain from vengeance. Judgment belongs to God alone.
Chapter 24: Divine omniscience and divine retribution. A hymn to the creator-god.
Chapter 25: Shun violence for it brings retaliation. Epilogue: the writer prays to God.

Does this sequence of themes indicate an overall plan, or at least elements of planning? And can we discern a basic scheme by which the themes were chosen?

By treating them repeatedly, the classical Egyptian Instructions had given prominence to certain themes. They had enjoined to respect parents and elders; to love one's family; and to instruct the young. To be helpful and generous to neighbors, friends, and the poor. To be respectful and discrete in dealing with superiors. To shun greed, gluttony, and lechery. To refrain from deceit and cheating. To avoid anger, quarrelling and violence. Not to fear the morrow and not be dismayed by misfortune. To respect the gods and trust in divine justice.

The self-justifications of the autobiographical inscriptions had formulated the same values. And together, the two classes of works had drawn a clear picture of the principal virtues and vices. Self-control, moderation, and modesty were at all times the central virtues from which others flowed, notably respectfulness, peacefulness, loyalty, and discretion. The active, outgoing virtues also appeared in clusters and were viewed together: industry and generosity, benevolence and jus-

tice, honesty and courage. The principal vices stood out just as clearly: Greed, avarice, and gluttony were inseparable; lying and cheating went hand in hand; and so did anger, quarrelsomeness, and violence. Altogether, the most lauded virtue was self-control, and the most sharply castigated vice was greed.

While legal codes probably existed, though until now only a Demotic one has come to light, we have no indications that moral values had been codified in any formal and official manner. Rather it looks as if certain virtues and vices, and certain kinds of behavior were viewed as central and significant without reference to a codified scheme.

This is to say that in composing his Instruction the author of PInsinger would have had many themes to choose from, old themes and newly prominent ones, and no traditional guidelines for their arrangement. He lived, however, in a world in which Greek moral philosophy in eclectic and popular varieties was taught in all Greek schools, preached in public, and declaimed in the theaters. Now the few Hellenistic moral treatises and gnomic collections that have survived display the very elements that we meet in PInsinger: the loose aphoristic form combined with the attempt to impose some order, and a choice of themes that is remarkably similar.

In Plutarch's treatise, On the Education of Children, there occurs a passage in which the basic principles of moral behavior, as learned through the study of philosophy, are set out as follows:

> Through it (i.e. philosophy) one knows what is good and what is shameful, what is just and what is unjust; what, in brief, is to be chosen and what to be avoided; how one must act towards the gods, parents, elders, the laws, strangers, rulers, friends, women, children, servants: that one must revere the gods, honor one's parents, respect one's elders, obey the laws, submit to the rulers, love one's friends, be restrained with women, affectionate with children, and not overbearing with slaves; and, most important of all, not to be overjoyful at success or overmuch distressed at misfortune, nor to be dissolute in

pleasures, nor impulsive and brutish in fits of anger.[107]

Here we encounter a systematized scheme. First, the reference to philosophy as the teacher of moral discernment. Then, in a descending order, the powers and classes of persons with whom man deals. Thereafter, in the same order, the appropriate behavior to each. Finally, the "most important" principles of virtue, namely self-control and moderation. The passage is artfully constructed in four movements: one, the understanding of right and wrong; two and three, its systematic application; four, the cardinal virtues. Such philosophic systematization lay beyond the ken of Egyptian wisdom. But the choice of themes is remarkably similar to that of PInsinger, whose themes are partly derived from classic Egyptian wisdom and partly new ones, notably, good and bad women, the hard life of strangers, and the right treatment of slaves. Plutarch's survey was an outline of basic moral topics, and it is precisely his view of basics that agrees closely with that of PInsinger: the list of right attitudes toward God and the several classes of people, and the warning against excesses of rejoicing and of distress and anger.

This large measure of congruity cannot be explained by reference to the universality of the values taught here. One may search all other ancient Near Eastern wisdom texts without encountering so close a convergence of topics. This is not to say that Plutarch's scheme was the model of PInsinger, but rather that his essay was representative of much Hellenistic moral philosophy in its popular and eclectic forms.[108]

Returning to the question whether the sequence of themes in PInsinger is indicative of a planned order, we note first that the variant text of P. Carlsberg II shows five chapters placed differently:

PCarlsberg II, chap. 14 = PInsinger, chap. 18
chap. 15 = chap. 19

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107 De liberis educandis 7E.

108 Cf. the similar list of duties in the ethical treatise of the Stoic Hierocles: Berliner Klassikertexte IV (1906) Pap. 9780.

PCarlsberg II, chap. 16 = PInsinger, chap. 21
chap. 17 = chap. 14
chap. 18 = chap. 22

Thus, instead of PInsinger's sequence, in chapters 14-18: Control fools - Shun greed - Enjoy life - Avoid worry - Be patient, PCarlsberg has: Be patient - Be calm - Shun all vices - Control fools - Stay at home.

The variant arrangement is instructive on two counts. It shows that PInsinger's order was not so firmly integrated as to command complete acceptance. It also shows that the rearrangement made in PCarlsberg II is not an improvement. In fact, given the absence of a truly stringent order - and stringency was incompatible with the basic looseness of gnomologia - PInsinger's arrangement of chapters could not be significantly improved. Its most noticeable weakness is redundancy, such as prevails in chapter 21, which castigates a medley of vices that had already been dealt with under different headings. Otherwise the sequence of chapters indicates considerable planning. There is a marked division of the work into two parts. The first part, up to chapter 15, deals with the practical concerns of life and human relations, and treats of the major vices and virtues. The second part, chapters 16-25, focusses on the larger questions of human existence: life and death; how to live rightly and contentedly; acceptance of misfortunes and of fate; and reflections on God's governance. When this basic division is recognized, it may be observed, albeit dimly, even in the disorderly Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy.

4. The Major Themes

4.1 Character and Character Types; Wise Men and Fools

Classic Egyptian Instructions, and autobiographical texts, had made much use of the concept of "character" and had developed several terms for it. The principal ones, iwn, bi(3).t and qd, seem to have denoted both a person's inborn traits and his matured personality. Other terms, such as hpr and sḫr, appear to have had a narrower focus. The autobiographies built

up the notion of good moral character by enumerating praiseworthy qualities and actions, and as a summing-up they liked to cite the proverbial declaration that "a man's character is his monument." The Instructions, as befitted their purpose, added reflections on the interconnection between learning and innate characteristics. Demotic Instructions were thus building on classic Egyptian foundations when they took up the concept of character. Yet here too Demotic wisdom brought innovation by making "character" into a key term and by coining a new word for it - 3my.t.[109] The new word was defined through new adages:

A man's 3my.t is his family.
A man's 3my.t is his 3brṯ.
A man's 3my.t is on his face.
A man's 3my.t is one of his limbs. (Ankhsh. 11/11-14)

That a man's character was his family, was repeated so many times that we may class it as a proverb. (Ankhsh. 11/11,18/13 & 21/25; Louvre Dem. P. 2414 I/13; Ins. 25/16-17). As for the unknown word 3brṯ, I have rendered it questioningly as "destiny," which fits its two occurrences in Ankhsheshonqy and, moreover, evokes the Greek adage attributed to Heraclitus and quoted in Hellenistic times: ἦθος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων, "for man, character is daemon."

The fourth in Ankhsheshonqy's quatrain on "character" recalls the earlier saying on the Petrie Ostracon No. 11, rt.4: "A man is drawn by his character (bi(3).t) as by his limb." (see above p. 7).

The word 3my.t can sometimes be translated by "behavior," or "personality," or "nature," but the rendering "character" is the most suitable in nearly all instances. "Behavior" appears preferable in just three cases: Ins. 13/2, 22/8 & 23/14.

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109 In Ancient Egyptian Literature III, 181 n.22, I accepted Stricker's equation of ṯ3y-3my.t with Bohairic ṯi-maiē, "grow in size, increase," and deduced from it that the Egyptian antecedent of 3my.t was probably im, im3, "shape, form (Wb I,78.1 & 80.10) rather than imy, "inside" (Wb I, 72). However, the equation 3my.t=maiē may be open to dispute.

Now whereas Ankhsheshonqy had merely toyed with the term "character," the author of PInsinger made of it the key concept that denoted man's moral nature, and he placed it at the center of his ethics. Furthermore, in his Seventh Instruction, the teaching on the right mean, he drew up a typology of characters:

> Do not let yourself be called "the bad man" (p3 rmt bn) because of merciless evildoing.
> Do not let yourself be called "the insolent one" (p3 dr-hr) because of ignorant shamelessness.
> Do not ‹let› yourself be called "fool" (lḥ) because of your thoughtless gluttony.
> Do not let yourself be called "who enjoys tormenting" (p3 iir twt ḥn hbr) because of brutality.
> Do not let yourself be called "the prattler" (p3 'š3 mt.t) because your tongue is everywhere.
> Do not let yourself be called "idiot" (ḥne) because of silence when it is time to speak.
> Do not let ‹yourself› be called "stupid" (s(w)g) because of the weariness which your words cause.
> (Ins. 3/2-8)

Unprecedented in Egyptian wisdom, this typology of characters evokes the typology of characters popularized by Theophrastus' Characters and endlessly elaborated in Hellenistic rhetoric and in the New Comedy.

The large centerpiece of PInsinger's typology of characters is the sage/fool dichotomy. Here again, what was incidental in Ankhsheshonqy became central in PInsinger. And it is a dichotomy which demands to be examined in comparison with kindred pairs in biblical wisdom and in Greek moral philosophy of the Hellenistic age.

The wise man has the following characteristics:

1. Self-control:

> The virtue (sp nfr) of the wise man (rmt rḫ) is to gather without greed.
> The great praise of the wise man is self-control (twt.ṯ.f) in his manner of life. (Ins. 5/16-17)

2. Shame and care:

He (Thoth) gave shame (špy) to the wise man for the sake of escaping all crime/punishment (btw). (Ins. 9/7)
Small wrath, shame, and care (ḫm b' špy rwš), that is the praise of the wise man. (Ins. 9/23)

3. Patience, gentleness, and generosity:

The patience ('w n ḫ3ṯ) of the wise man is to consult with the god. (Ins. 21/9)
Gentleness in every kind of behavior (gnn ḫn 3my.t nb), that is the praise of the wise man. (Ins. 22/8)
The god gives wealth to the wise man because of (his) generosity (wstn). (Ins. 15/10)
When a wise man is stripped he gives his clothes and blesses. (Ins. 27/9)

4. Fear of God:

It is the god who gives the heart to the wise man because of (or, for the sake of) fear/respect (r-tb3 snte). (Ins. 23/23)

5. The wise man is not perfect for he can be led astray by passions:

A wise man is harmed because of a woman he loves. (Ins. 7/11)
If a wise man is not calm his manner does not avail (bw ir p3y.f sp ph). (Ins. 23/7)
When it (retaliation) comes to a wise man, he is left foolish, bad, and stupid (ḫne ḫw3 lḫ). (Ins. 34/12)

The counterpart of the wise man, the "fool," for whom three terms are used (lḫ, ḫne, rmt swg), has the vices that exactly match the wise man's virtues.

1. Lacking self-control, he is ruled by passions and desires:

The fool (lḫ) who does not control himself will be in want through gluttony. (Ins. 5/13)
The fool (lḫ) who looks at a woman is like a fly on blood. (Ins. 7/23)

2. The fool is vengeful, deceitful, careless, and unreliable:

The fool (lḫ) who is vengeful toward the wretch is one who falls on the battlefield. (Ins. 3/23)
Do not trust a fool (lḫ) because he brings you (something) with a blessing.
The stupid man (rmt swg) who seeks to deceive, his tongue brings him harm. (Ins. 12/4-5)
A fool (lḫ) who lights a fire goes close to it and burns.
A stupid man (rmt swg) who starts a fight goes close to it and falls. (Ins. 13/16-17)

Note the parallel usage of "fool" and "stupid man" in the two pairs of sayings.

A fool (lḫ) who has no concern gives concern to him who sends him (on an errand). (Ins. 14/7)

3. Though these evil inclinations add up to a "bad character," the fool should not be left to his ways but should be chastised.

The fool (lḫ) <with> his bad character gets into crime through it. (Ins. 29/6)
Thoth has placed the stick on earth in order to teach the fool (ḫne) by it. (Ins. 9/6)
The god blesses him who punishes lawfully.
And he is angered if the fool (lḫ) is left to his stupidity (swg). (Ins. 14/12-13)
Do not leave the fool and/or evil man (lḫ rmt bn) in the character/behavior (3my.t) that he loves. (Ins. 14/22)

4. Though paired in the last saying, "fool" and "evil man" are not entirely synonymous. With proper coercion, the bad inclinations of the fool may be tamed; but the evil man is one who is firmly set in his evil ways, and he is the equal of the "impious man" or "sinner" (s3b3):

Do not sail the course of the evil man (rmt bn) even when fate is satisfied with him.
The sinner (s3b3) does not die in the fortune which he likes. (Ins. 20/2-3)
A lifetime is given to the sinner (s3b3) in order to make him encounter retaliation.

> Property is given to the evil man (rmt bn) in order to deprive him of his breath through it. (Ins. 30/23-24)

5. The "sinner" is distinct from the "evil man" only in the sense that stress is laid on his "impiety":

> The impious man (s3b3) who forgets the god dies stricken in his heart. (Ins. 19/10)

6. The "impious man" (s3b3) is the exact opposite of the "man of god" (rmt ntr), the term which PInsinger employed to enlarge the concept of the "wise man":

> The impious man (s3b3) does not desist from the behavior (3my.t) which he loves.
> The man of god (rmt ntr) does not burn to injure, lest one burn against him.
> The evil man (rmt bn) who has power does not let harm grow against him.
> The man of god (rmt ntr) stays in misfortune until the god is reconciled. (Ins. 30/9-12)

The four consecutive sayings confront the "man of god" with the "evil" and the "impious" man. And just as these two sinners are two aspects of the same basic type - the evildoer par excellence - so the "man of god" is essentially the same as the "wise man," with just that difference that the "man-of-god" term stresses the relationship to the deity:

> It is the god who gives patience to the wise man (rmt rḫ) in misfortune. (Ins. 19/9)
> The support of the man of god (rmt ntr) in misfortune is the god. (Ins. 19/12)
> Neither the impious man (s3b3) nor the man of god (rmt ntr) can alter the lifetime recorded for him. (Ins. 18/5)
> He who knows what is within the man of god (rmt ntr) does not hoard riches. (Ins. 18/18)

Clearly, the "man of god" is the "wise man" in the fullness of his wisdom, which is his piety and his concern with ultimate things.

The centrality of the sage/fool dichotomy, and its enlargement through related terms, calls for comparison with

similar usages in biblical wisdom and in Greek moral philosophy. Chapters 10-22,16 of the Book of Proverbs (and to a lesser extent, chapters 26-29) are built around the two contrasted pairs of sage/fool (ḥakam/ksil) and righteous/wicked (ṣadiq/rasă'). And there are numerous terms which elaborate on the leading pairs. Ḥakam/ṣadiq, the wise-and-righteous man, alternates with iš tob, maskil, iš-tebunah, nabon, and mebin, while ksil/raša', the foolish-and-evil man, is joined by peti, leṣ, ḥote, ḥasar-leb, nabal, r', and others. This plethora of allied terms is a feature of the parallelistic verses and a function of the overarching lesson inculcated by these many chapters, to wit, that the wise and righteous will triumph, but fools and sinners will go to perdition.

In the Book of Qohelet the sage/fool dichotomy was also constitutive, but there was no need to amplify the terms, for the message was dismissing and negative: wise men and fools suffer the same fate. Neither Proverbs nor Qohelet are interested in examining human character and behavior, nor do they employ a term for "character." It thus appears that, though the wise/fool pair, and its expansions, could be viewed as a shared feature, the use the three works make of it is very different. The Demotic writer sought to define the springs of human behavior, and he did so with more penetration and more system than had heretofore been attempted in Egyptian wisdom. His basic division of men into sage/fool and pious/impious pairs involved wrestling with the question whether man, or God, was responsible for man's inclinations and actions. He also wished to give due weight to the experience that right and wrong doing were not inevitably followed by reward and punishment. Thus, his questioning spirit and his strenuous argumentation set him apart from Proverbs and move him closer to Qohelet. But his positive faith, and his principal themes and concerns differ radically from those of Qohelet. He has one kindred spirit among Israel's sages, to wit Ben Sira. But it is not in the sage/fool confrontation that their kinship is most apparent, for in Ben Sira this theme is a minor one.

The Hellenistic moral philosophies that placed the sage/fool pair at the center of their ethics were those of Epicurus

and of the Stoa. Both systems made of the sage the ideal standard bearer of their ethical norms, and both confronted him with his opposite, the fool or the worthless person. In other respects, however, the Epicurean view of the world and of man's place in it was so unlike Egyptian thinking as to rule out the possibility of its having had a significant impact on Egyptian thought in the Hellenistic period. The Stoa, on the other hand, the Old Stoa of Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus, expounded views of the world and of man which were compatible with Egyptian thought.

The Stoic cosmos was animated and unified by the all-pervading pneuma. On earth the permeating pneuma manifested itself on four distinct levels, according as it operated in inanimate objects, plants, animals, and human beings. On its lowest level it is the particular state (hexis) of inanimate things; in plants it is nature (physis) in the narrow sense; in animals it is the soul (psyche); and on its highest level, in human beings, it is reason (logos) which mankind shares with the gods.

The human soul pervades the body in eight distinct faculties, the highest one being the rational soul (hegemonikon or logikon) which is located in the heart.

This rational soul is one and the same whether it engages in thought or is afflicted by passions. The passions are a sickness in which the logikon is overcome by wrong judgments. Such aberrations are possible because man's reason entails freedom and with it the choice of right and wrong.

How is this freedom possible within the working of the all-embracing necessity or causality (heimarmene)? Because there are two kinds of causes, principal determining ones and external supportive ones - the famous drum that rolls because of its particular shape (principal cause), and does so when pushed (external cause). Man's own constitution determines his responses to external influences including evil ones. All human beings are endowed with the disposition toward virtue; and through reason man has the ability and the duty to build up this disposition, to educate himself, and to choose rightly. It is his own fault if instead of doing so he succumbs to ex-

ternal influences that stimulate the passions and overwhelm his reason. Virtue is reason itself and is both the disposition and the goal that nature has laid down for man.

How does man obtain knowledge of the good? By observation and comparison. Being related to the gods through his reason, man has some understanding of the divine and with it the ability to choose the good. The deity is the embodiment of reason, creativity, eternity, and goodness; and through it the whole world is good. Yet evil conditions also have reality, for they are the necessary counterparts of the good. How would we know what justice is if there were no injustice, how recognize courage if not through cowardice? But poverty and other misfortunes are merely indifferent things which do not affect the wise man. And illness and death are natural processes which he accepts as part of the divine order. As to the sufferings of the sinner, he has brought them upon himself.

Thus the recognition of the divinely ordered universe centers on the paradigmatic figure of the wise man and calls forth the detailed description of the qualities by which he realizes the goal of virtue: the life in harmony with the logos, which is the only real good. The sage is free of all passions: fear, anxiety, anger, cupidity, etc. He possesses the upright reason which enables him to resist all error. External events do not affect him; other people cannot harm him. Insults do not touch him, nor can his freedom be taken from him. For freedom is to do gladly that which is right. The wise man is not only the pious and just man, he is also the true leader of others. He is, moreover, the only happy man. For in his virtue he possesses a treasure which is a never-failing source of gladness.

His opposite, the fool, has all the vices, though in varying degrees according to his individual nature. There are qualitative differences among fools. Moreover, the average person does not constantly remain in the same state of foolishness. There is moral improvement, and it is the task of education to foster it in oneself and in others. Moral progress is a long march toward virtue, and even the sage may be in doubt whether he has attained the goal.

This view of man and the universe was in essential harmony

with the world view of ancient Egypt. Egyptian sages of the Hellenistic age who came in contact with Stoic teachings must have experienced agreement and approval, and would have found in them much that matched their concerns and answered their questions. And whereas in Ankhsheshonqy the "wise man" was a lightly sketched figure who made incidental appearances, the author of PInsinger made him the standard-bearer of his ethics just as the Stoic philosophers had done.

PInsinger, moreover, treats certain themes in a manner that suggests acquaintance with Stoic and other Greek concepts. First, there is the Demotic writer's focus on the notion of "character," as the basis for a typology of human beings. As we have seen, he divided mankind into the wise and the foolish and defined the salient characteristics of each. He did one other thing which we must still examine: he explained good and bad character and behavior by reference to innate constitution.

Under the heading, "Do not burn lest the god burn you with punishment," the Twenty-third Chapter offers a series of definitions designed to point out the connection between action and innate disposition:

> The poison of the breathing snake is (in) its mouth; the poison of the inferior man is (in) his heart.
> He equals <the snake> that kills, he is merciless like the crocodile.
> One cannot remove the poison of the crocodile, the snake, and the evil one. (Ins. 29/13-15)
> He who burns about an evil gets into crime through it.
> The burning fire is extinguished by water while the water reverts to it.
> Natron and salt are lost in their action because of (their) burning. (Ins. 29/20-22)
> It is because of many foods that firmness is good.
> The evil man whose heart loves evil will find it.
> One who thinks of the good is one who masters it.
> The good action of incense, its portion is in it.
> The impatient man gets into trouble through seeking to injure by it.
> What comes from the earth returns to it again. (Ins.30/1-6)

Do we not have here a working out of the concept of causality in its two aspects, the natural and the moral one, in a manner that suggests acquaintance with the Stoic teaching on the innate dispositions of all classes of beings? First, PInsinger makes the point that these dispositions are unalterable. Next he shows that the dispositions lead to actions that have results commensurate with them. The burning quality of natron and salt causes their own destruction; so also will the evil man meet with evil. The man disposed toward the good will attain it, just as the pleasant effect of incense is produced by its own nature.

The concept of disposition, and its explanation by examples drawn from three classes of beings - substances, animals, and men - are unparalleled in classic Egyptian wisdom. But in Ankhsheshonqy we noted the same interest in the working of the causal relationship as revealed by the behavior of the same three classes of beings (see above pp. 37-43). Thus, both Demotic wisdom texts - PInsinger more coherently and systematically - demonstrate the identity of natural order and moral order in a manner strikingly similar to the Stoic teaching on the interconnections of all things on the four levels of existence. If one dares not invoke Stoic influence here, one may at least point out a most remarkable convergence of views.

In certain respects the author of PInsinger expressed observations that may have owed something to non-Stoic Greek thinking. One of these is his insistence that the wise man is not a perfect man. He is fallible, for he can be affected by passions. This very noteworthy aspect of the sage's personality has a Peripatetic ring.[110] Aristotelian realism left room for an imperfect sage. And the essential pragmatism of Egyptian morality would tend in the same direction. Hence it is possible that the imperfect sage was an independent creation

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110 In his edition of Ariston of Keos, Wehrli remarked: "Dass der Weise nicht glaube, fehlerfrei zu sein oder den Rat anderer entbehren zu können, kann kein Stoiker erklären." F. Wehrli, Die Schule des Aristoteles (1967) Heft 6: Lykon und Ariston von Keos, 52ff.

of the Demotic writer. But the presence here of a Peripatetic element will not seem implausible when one considers another of PInsinger's themes, one that reads like the recital of a Peripatetic lesson: the teaching on the right mean which occupies the entire Seventh Chapter. The "right measure" or "right mean" (p3 dnf) is here taught by numerous examples. Anger, violence, talkativeness, greed, and arrogance are all of them excesses that harm those who practice them. The understanding of right measure was given to man by God:

> The great god Thoth has set up a balance in order to make right measure on earth by it.
> He placed the heart hidden in the flesh for the right measure of its owner. (Ins. 4/17-18)

Having knowledge of the right mean, man can acquire it by self-control (twt) which avoids excess (ḫw3) and leads to being balanced (mḥy). The Eighth Chapter continues the discussion by focusing on gluttony and greed as major examples of excess, and it formulates the conclusion:

> The life that controls excess is life according to the wise man's heart. (Ins. 6/8)

This is of course not the complete Aristotelian teaching of to meson. For one thing, it lacks a discussion of the "too little." But popularized teachings on the right mean would naturally concentrate on excess as the more prominent source of vice. Such is the case in the character studies of Ariston of Keos and of Theophrastus.[111]

One thing is clear. If the Demotic writer knew something of Greek moral philosophy, he knew it in an eclectic and popular form. For the several Hellenistic schools of philosophy had all come to concentrate on moral philosophy, and to stress what they had in common when addressing themselves to public issues and teaching practical morality. And over and above homilies, treatises, and schoolbooks there shone the beams of the New Comedy, most notably in the consummate art of Menander,

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111 See Wehrli, loc. cit. 58f.

where human types performed the plays of life. It is therefore fitting to close this chapter on "character" in PInsinger by citing the well known passage from the Epitrepontes in which, near the end of the play, the slave Onesimos, evoking the old adage, "for man, character is daemon," declares:

> 'Then do the gods have no concern for us at all?'
> you 'll say. They introduced in each his character
> as guardian. He's inside, a constant watcher,
> Trips up the one who treats him with contempt,
> Preserves another. That one is for us the god!
> And he's the cause of failure or success that we
> obtain. To placate him be careful to avoid
> all faults, all foolishness, and so fare well!

4.2 Suffering and Evil

The philosophers of the Old Stoa had met the problem of human suffering simply and squarely. The sufferings of the evildoer were appropriate punishments; those of the virtuous man were indifferent things to be borne with fortitude, for they could not destroy his virtue, which was the source of his happiness. But in dealing with the problem of evildoing, they denied the existence of independent irrational drives in the soul and thereby created a difficulty which their strenuous arguments had not dispelled. It was resolved only when Panaitios changed course, acknowledged independent irrational impulses, downgraded the teachings on the perfect sage, and concentrated on the attainable goals of practical ethics.

The author of PInsinger drew comparable distinctions between the sufferings of the wise and pious man and those of the foolish and impious person, and between suffering and evildoing. His entire Seventeenth Chapter is devoted to explaining the nature of suffering, and it makes the following points: The wise man endures suffering with patience and with trust in God, and sooner or later the deity will release and save him. The foolish or impious man is struck down by misfortunes, because he does not turn to God. The righteous man, moreover, understands that misfortunes are transitory, for he knows that

change is the law of life:

It is the god who gives patience to the wise man in misfortune.
The impious man who forgets the god dies stricken in his heart.
A short day in misfortune is many (days) in the heart of the impatient man.
The support of the man of god in misfortune is the god.
The fool does not call to him in trouble because of (his) impiety.
He who is persevering in hardship, his fate goes and comes accordingly.
The fate together with the god bring happiness after anxiety. (Ins. 19/9-15)
Do not prefer death to life in misfortune out of despair.
The god returns contentment, he who is dead does not return.
He creates happiness through the fate at the end of old age. (Ins. 19/18-20)
Do not sail the course of the evil man even when fate is satisfied with him.
The impious man does not die in the fortune which he likes. (Ins. 20/2-3)
What comes of hardship, leave yourself in the hand of the god in it.[112]
One day differs from another for him whose heart cares.
One hour differs from another in a lifetime without blame.
It so befell in the beginning when the gods were on earth.
When Pre had weakened before the enemies, they weakened before him in turn. (Ins. 20/13-17)
The fear of the man of god is that which goes just as it came. (Ins. 20/23)

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112 Lexa's mistranslation of the line - "Conçois la main de Dieu dans ce qui vient t'accabler" - has misled more than one Bible scholar into finding in the sentence the Biblical idea that God chastises those whom he loves, as said in Prov 3:11-12. If the thought occurs, it is not here but perhaps in another passage, see below p. 132.

The last sentence sums up incisively that man should not fear change, which is part of the right order, but rather the absence of change. The chapter as a whole - disregarding for the moment the paradoxical ending, which we shall discuss together with all other paradoxical chapter endings - makes its points with clarity: the wicked man is overwhelmed by his misfortunes; the pious man endures them with confidence, expecting to be saved. But on the manner in which the pious man can expect to be saved, the chapter has sayings that are difficult and require examination. First of all, line 19/20 cited above is not self-explanatory:

> He (the god) creates happiness through (literally, with) the fate at the end of old age (n ḫw i3w.t).

In my earlier translation[113] I had been baffled by the idea that God's reward should arrive "at the end of old age," as this could only mean, at the time of death. For that it may refer to the hereafter is unlikely, because the formulation does not suggest it, and because no known Egyptian Instruction speaks of the life after death. True, there is one passage in PInsinger that refers to the punishment of the sinner in the hereafter (18/8-11), but it is immediately followed by the contrasting declaration that:

> The end of the man of god is being buried in the mountain with his burial equipment. (Ins. 18/12)

Moreover, line 19/20 comes immediately after the warning not to wish for death during suffering, but to hope for the restoration of well-being. What, then, is "happiness through the fate at the end of old age"? I have meanwhile realized that the expression "at the end of old age" also occurs in Ankhsheshonqy in a similar context (11/21-22):

> Do not say "The enemy of the god is alive today; look to the end (nw r ḫw).
> Say "Good fate" at the end of old age (n ḫw n i3w.t).[114]

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113 Ancient Egyptian Literature III, 201.

114 The two texts distinguish clearly between r and n in the writing of r ḫw, "to the end" (Ankhsh. 11/21 & Ins. 18/2) and n ḫw, "at the end" (Ankhsh. 11/22 & Ins. 19/20&20/19)

Taken together, the two passages must mean that man's fate is understood and fulfilled only at the time of death. This implies that God's reward, or punishment, may be held back until the hour of death. If so, I cannot but see in these two passages the Demotic version of the Greek topos, "Count no man happy till he dies."[115] Ben Sira too had adopted it and had given it a full explication of which these are the final lines:

> On the day a man dies it is easy for the Lord
> To repay him in accordance with his ways.
> An hour's misery brings forgetfulness of joy,
> And a man's end reveals what he has done.
> Call no man happy before death,
> It is by his end[116] that a man will be known. (11:26-28)

Thus, to the old and still dominating notion of divine retribution taking place during a person's lifetime the two Demotic Instructions added the idea, often expressed in Greek sayings, that the worth of a man's life is judged and revealed only in the hour of his death. As for the third type of divine retribution, the judgment in the hereafter, we noted that PInsinger briefly refers to the punishment of the wicked in the beyond (18/8-11) but immediately blocks the view into the blessed afterlife of the righteous by declaring that the end of the pious man is to rest in his tomb. However, in the context of the Seventeenth Chapter, which still occupies us, the writer added reflections on the ends of the pious and the impious which, if we understand them rightly, would seem to add a new dimension:

> Do not be heart-sore about a matter if its course comes to a halt.
> The day of loss is lost for its very safety (r-tb3 p3 ty wḏ3 rn.f).

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115 Aeschylus, Agam. 928; Sophocles, Trachin. 1, Oedipus Tyrr. 1528; Herodotus, Hist. I 32 & 86; Euripides, Androm. 100, Troad. 509; Ovid, Metamorph. III 135.

116 So the Hebrew text; the Greek, "in his children," corrupts the meaning.

> Do not sail the course of the evil man even when the fate is satisfied with him.
> The impious man does not die in the fortune which he likes.
> Do not be heart-sore during an imprisonment; the work of the god is great.
> The man of god is in prison for his very safety (r-tb3 p3 ty wḏ3 rn.f).
> ⌜Death protects from prison because of prayer⌝. (Ins. 19/23-20/6)

If this is the correct translation, do we have here the idea that the suffering of the pious man is a trial that purifies him? And does the last sentence signify that his release from suffering comes through a prayed-for death? It is a strange and cryptic passage; and that it comes so close after the advice not to long for death during misfortune (19/18-19) makes it even stranger. It is, therefore, a mere guess if I venture to propose that the writer may here be voicing the belief that death will bring the righteous sufferer close to God in a manner quite other than the bodily immortality spelled out in Egyptian mortuary literature, in short a spiritual immortality of the kind envisaged in the Sapientia Salomonis:

> But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,
> And no torment shall touch them.
> In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died,
> And their departure was accounted a misfortune,
> And their going from us a ruin;
> But they are at peace. (3:1-3)[117]

On the whole, PInsinger's teachings on suffering are clear and consistent. The problem of evil was more difficult to deal with. At the risk of oversimplification, it will be well to summarize classic Egyptian thinking on the phenomenon of evil, as background to PInsinger's discussion. The earlier texts had emphasized the following aspects. Ethical commands were intelligible and teachable, and man was fully capable of liv-

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117 The translation is that of J. Reider, The Book of Wisdom, New York 1957, 71f.

ing by them. It was man's "heart" that gave him the ability to distinguish good from bad. But his heart could also harbor evil inclinations and could choose wrongdoing. Man's tendency to disregard teaching and to pursue wrong goals was an observable fact. In the overall context of man's existence, this meant that just as the cosmic order bore within it the ever-present danger of disruption, so also was man capable of "disobedience." It followed, furthermore, that man's capacity for evildoing was fully known to the all-seeing deity, a knowledge attributed to the gods in countless sayings.

Man felt responsible for his thoughts and actions and yet did not see himself as a free agent. He viewed himself as ruled and steered by the gods, and as depending on them. From the sense of dependence - increasingly voiced since the New Kingdom - there derived not only the belief that the deity had shaped his being and was guiding him, but also the notion that the god could dislike a man and thereby deprive him of his ability to do right. There are a few statements that attribute to the deity such a dislike.[118] These statements are greatly outnumbered by declarations acknowledging God's beneficent guidance. Some scholars have placed much emphasis on the few negative sayings and have construed from them a sharp conflict between free will and determinism, or more precisely, between man's helplessness and God's arbitrary freedom.[119] It seems to

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118 The always quoted locus classicus is Ptahhotep 545-6: "The hearer is one beloved of God; not hears he who is hated by God."

119 So Morenz, Religion, 69f. & 131; Brunner, Erziehung, 115f. and in SPOA, 103-117, also in LÄ III, 964ff; Otto, Inschriften, 21f. and, more cautiously, in LÄ I, 34ff. In response to Brunner's paper in SPOA, Sainte Fare Garnot, ibid. 118-120, defined the allegedly conflicting tendencies as complementary, a view to which I subscribe: "Ainsi se trouvent justifiées et réintegrées dans l'ordre des valeurs indubitables, d'un côté la liberté de Dieu et celle de l'homme, d'un autre côté la possibilité, pour l'homme, d'apprendre à vivre, quitte à solliciter, le cas échéant, l'aide, miraculeuse ou non, de son Créateur. ... Dans l'univers des Anciens Egyptiens l'existence d'un certain 'ordre' n'est point inhibitrice, bien au contraire; il y a place pour des dieux libres et pour des hommes libres."

me that the evidence does not bear out the postulate of such a conflict. If the Egyptian confronted his sense of freedom with his sense of dependence - the author of PInsinger did - he would view the two as complementary, as people everywhere have done.[120]

Returning to the role of the heart as the source of man's reasoning and sentient faculties, I cite the eight aspects under which Brunner organized his survey article on the heart (in LÄ II, 1158ff.) in order to single out those aspects that are relevant to the examination of PInsinger's views.

I. The physiological aspect. II. The secular-anthropological aspect, in which the heart is the seat of traits of character and feelings, both good and bad, as well as reason and understanding. III. The religious-anthropological aspect, in which the heart is viewed as the organ through which God speaks to man. Under this heading Brunner also included the relation of the heart to the ka, and the heart's activities during and after death. IV. The heart as the partner of man, especially his talking partner in situations of loneliness. V. The heart as the center of man, which, though his innermost being, is yet to some extent independent of him and can even abandon him. VI. The heart of God, viewed as analogous to that of man. VII. Heart amulets. VIII. The heart of animals.

Aspects I, VII, and VIII are not discussed in PInsinger and need not concern us. Also, the notion of the ka, inconspicuous in Late Period thinking, is absent. In PInsinger's many statements on the heart one thought is dominant: the heart is the dynamic reasoning and sentient force in man, but it is not the only source of his thinking and his feelings. In other words, aspects IV and V in Brunner's scheme are the principal ones. Man and his heart have a partnership in which each side can exert a strong influence on the other, and in this vital

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120 Cf. W.C. Greene, Moira (1944) 22: "To ask whether Homer believes in fate or in freedom of the will is an idle question; like most men he believes in both - in the power of external forces (Moira given expression by Zeus) and in man's own choices."

interaction it is sometimes the heart and sometimes man who has the initiative. Basically, it is man who owns his heart, just as he owns his character. Thus it is he who responds to the hearts intimations which are various:

1. A sound heart sustains its owner, a suffering heart harms him:

> The heart, in its smallness, sustains its owner. (Ins. 24/22)
> If the heart worries about its owner it creates illness for him. (Ins. 19/7)

2. The heart speaks with the voice of reason, but the heart of the fool is careless and gives way to the passions:

> He who listens to the judgment of his heart sleeps untroubled. (Ins. 21/13)
> Do not love your belly, know shame in your heart, do not scorn the voice of your heart. (Ins. 25/18)
> Greed removes shame, mercy, and trust from the heart. (Ins. 15/13)
> A fool before whom there is no stick has no concern in his heart. (Ins. 14/6)

3. Man can and should control his heart:

> He who knows how to dominate his heart has the equal of every teaching. (Ins. 8/3)
> He who knows his own heart, the fate knows him. (Ins.4/23)
> He who guards his heart and his tongue sleeps without an enemy. (Ins. 21/14)

4. Altogether, the heart is secretive and mysterious. In a chain of nine sayings (12/14-22) the writer pondered this strangeness; citing three of them will convey their tenor:

> One does not discover the heart of a man in his character (<u>bn t3y.f 3my.t</u>) if one has not sent him (on an errand).
> One does not discover the heart of a wise man if one has not tested him in a matter. (Ins. 12/14-15)
> One does not ever discover the heart of a woman anymore than (one knows) the sky. (Ins. 12/22)

5. The heart being so variable, man had need of divine assistance, a situation which PInsinger describes as "turning to god," "placing the greatness of god in one's heart," and other:

> The patience of the wise man is to consult with the god. (Ins. 21/9)
> The teaching of knowing the greatness of god so as to put it in your heart.
> Heart and tongue of the wise man, the greatness of their dwelling place is being that of the god.
> When heart and tongue are blameless, steering (hmy) results from it. (Ins. 30/18-20)

From all this one may conclude that the Demotic writer judged evildoing to be the result of "foolishness," a state which encompassed the disdain of learning, untrammelled passions, and disregard of the deity. And when he viewed these evil inclinations spatially, their locale was the heart.

The heart being both the active purveyor of impulses and their passive receptacle, it fell to man himself to set his heart right when it strayed. But what faculties did he have by which he could "guard his heart"? Lacking a clearly worked out concept of "reason" (logos, nous) the Demotic writer could not arrive at a logical solution of the problem. But can we detect that he groped for a solution?

His vocabulary included eight terms for the activities of reasoning: 1. ip, "to reckon," in the sense of "think of, consider, reckon with, deliberate." 2. wḫ3, "to seek, search," in the sense of "examine." 3. mwy, "to think of." 4. rḫ, "to know, understand," and the noun rḫw, "knowledge." 5. swn, "to know, recognize." 6. stny, "to consult, take counsel." 7. gm, "to find," in the sense of "discover, understand." 8. tn, "to judge, determine."

In some sayings, one or another of these terms is applied to the heart: the heart "takes counsel" (18/2); "you do not know in your heart" (11/23); the heart "judges" (21/13). More commonly, the reasoning activity is assigned to man himself: "he who thinks of the good" (30/3); "he (the god) knows the impious man who thinks of evil" (31/3). One could dismiss the

distinction between the thinking heart and the thinking man as being merely a stylistic one, were it not for the many instances in which man is placed in a true confrontation with his heart, and either partner may be in the right. Hence the distinction is significant without being clear. The one thing that does emerge with clarity is that the reasoning faculty, when not swamped by passions, and other follies, was the guide to righteousness. And the saying, "He who thinks of the good is one who masters it" (30/3) appears to be the statement that goes as far as the writer was able to go toward a definition of reason as the source of virtue. In sum, it is likely that he would have agreed with the saying of Sextus (no.315):

τὸ ἐν σοὶ φρονοῦν τοῦτο νόμιζε εἶναι ἄνθρωπον

What thinks within you, deem that to be man.

In the term "steering" (hmy=ḥmy) PInsinger had a concept that supplemented his teachings on the right use of reason. It occurs four times:

Good steering comes out of trouble after grief. (20/20)

Patience without resentment results in good steering. (21/10)

When heart and tongue are without blame, steering results from it. (30/20)

He who knows how to steer his heart is not one who is merciful. (30/13)

The last sentence is a paradox that belongs with the other paradoxical sayings, all of which need to be considered together. Lexa mistook "steering" to mean "self-control," and Volten followed him in this error. PInsinger's term for "self-control" is twt, while "steering" means precisely what it says. Ever since the Middle Kingdom, the term denoted man's moral guidance, and it occurs three times in this sense in Amenemope (1/10, 5/1, 20/4f.). It is also used three times in the Book of Proverbs (1:5, 11:14, 24:6) where the Septuagint consistently rendered taḥbulot by kybernesis. (Taḥbulot also had the sense of "reasoning, planning," as in Ben Sira 37:17). The Greek term, too, had a long history, having been used by Pindar and Plato to signify the art of political leadership,

while in the Hymn to Zeus of Cleanthes it signifies the governance of God. In the latter meaning it also appears in the Sapientia Salomonis 14:3, "God's steering providence" (diakyberna pronoia). In PInsinger's usage it is man's own guidance of himself, and it is the fruit of his understanding.

4.3 The Paradoxes of Fate and Fortune

Except for the paradoxical chapter endings, all of PInsinger's teachings affirm man's moral freedom while also acknowledging that it is God who endows him with his capacity for good and to whom he turns for help in situations of need. Only the paradoxical statements describe man as totally dependent on God and his emissaries, Fate and Fortune. The distinction needs to be underlined, for it has not been made clear by the scholars who have claimed a sense of man's total dependence on God for late Egyptian sapiential thinking in general and for PInsinger in particular.[121] It is in the paradoxical chapter endings, and only there, that God and his agents, Fate and Fortune, reverse the expected normal sequence of deed and result and that, moreover, God is said to bestow on man not only his good inclinations but - sometimes - even his evil ones. Isolated from the overall context, these statements have been taken to mean that God's freedom was now viewed as both incomprehensible and arbitrary, hence that the belief in the regular connection between deed and result had been abandoned, and that sapiential thinking had thus been deprived of its traditional base.[122] If this were the right conclusion, it would be incomprehensible what the Demotic writer intended when he composed his long and weighty Instruction in which the connection between deed and result is continuously reiterated. Let us look

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121 E.g. S. Herrmann in ZÄS 79 (1954) 114: "Der Mensch wird entmachtet zugunsten der lenkenden Gottheit ... Der Papyrus Insinger mag das deutlich machen. Wie ein Kehrvers heisst es mit geringen Varianten immer wieder: 'Das Glück und das Schicksal, die kommen, werden von Gott bestimmt.'"

122 So Brunner in his paper Der freie Wille Gottes in SPOA, 103-117; see above note 119.

at the paradoxes in their contexts.

Where fully preserved, the paradoxical chapter endings consisted of seven sentences made up of two pairs of paradoxical sayings followed by two sentences that drew conclusions from them, and ending in a one-line refrain about Fate and Fortune doing their work by the will of God. The first pair of paradoxes consists of statements beginning with "there is he who (wn p3 nty), while the second pair makes negative observations introduced by the negative particle bn. The first pair states observable facts, the second pair interprets them. The three concluding lines attribute the paradoxical situations to the action of the deity. The whole sequence has a fixed pattern consisting of three elements: observation, explication, and conclusion.

In the transmission of the text, these paradoxical sequences were often shortened or altered, the alterations invariably softening the paradoxical sense or eliminating it altogether. This process is noticeable throughout PInsinger and was carried even further in the variant texts of the Carlsberg papyri, as can be observed wherever the relevant passages are preserved.

In the present incomplete state of the papyrus, the first of PInsinger's complete paradoxical sequences occurs at the end of the Eighth Chapter, the instruction that warns against the vice of gluttony. A total of forty-eight sayings castigate the "foolishness" of gluttony and greed; then follow the paradoxes:

> There is he who lives on little so as to save, yet he becomes poor.
> There is one who does not know, yet the fate gives (him) wealth.
> It is not the wise man who saves who finds a reserve.
> Nor is it the one who spends who becomes poor.
> The god gives a wealth of supplies without an income.
> He also gives poverty in the purse without spending.
> The fate and the [fortune] that come, it is the god who sends them. (Ins. 7/13-19)

The first type of paradoxical statements, the one that formulates the existence of a causal order which operates in reverse, had already been employed in the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy, where it was also explained as the work of the deity acting through fate (see above pp. 39-40). Thus PInsinger was drawing on an existing concept which contained two elements: the old notion of the reversal of fortune discussed in the Instructions of Any (8/9-10) and Amenemope (6/18ff. & 24/13ff.) and the new idea of "fate" as the unpredictable course of life governed by change. This idea of fate is distinctly different from the older Egyptian notions of fate which had focused on man's predetermined lifespan.[123] From the rudiments of the new view of fate found in Ankhsheshonqy there grew in PInsinger an elaborate teaching on fate and fortune as the twin powers by which the deity intervened in man's life, an intervention in which good fortune and misfortune alternated in conformity with the process of change. This process is described as the going-and-coming (šm-iy) of fate and fortune, a concept of motion which, though not its equal, comes close to the image of the wheel of fortune.

We have seen that the Seventeenth Chapter taught a trusting acceptance of suffering through the understanding of the law of change. That was the positive response to change. The paradoxes define its negative side: the reversal of the normal cause and effect relationship through the intervention of fate (š3y) and fortune (shne) and the resultant disappointment of man's rightful expectations. The word shne was used to translate tyche in Ptolemaic decrees, and there can be little doubt that PInsinger employed it in this sense. As to š3y, its Greek equivalents were ananke and heimarmene, the terms for "necessity" used by the several schools of Hellenistic philosophy. All philosophic schools taught acceptance of ananke and combated the popular over-valuation of the deified tyche, though they varied in just how much effect on human character and life they conceded to the fickle goddess.

When seen as the adaptation of ananke and tyche, PInsin-

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123 Cf. Quaegebeur, Shai, 141f.

ger's treatment of šȝy and shne becomes clear: it is their activity that accounts for reversals. It follows that the paradoxes at the end of the Eighth Chapter do not invalidate the teaching that he who lives prudently will prosper whereas the glutton will come to harm. They merely qualify the teaching by acknowledging the working of those twin powers that upset human calculations. Qohelet and Ben Sira had wrestled with the same problem; and Ben Sira's manner of resolving the conflict between the lawful sequence of deed and result and its unpredictable reversal, and between man's essential yet limited freedom and God's preeminent freedom, is, though much more thorough, truly similar to that of PInsinger, even though Ben Sira did not employ the concept of fate to describe the variability of divine intervention:

I. Reversals of fortune come from God:

Do not jeer at a man in rags,
Do not mock anyone who is suffering,[124]
For the deeds of the Lord are marvels,
And his action is hidden from man.
Many oppressed have mounted the throne,
And those who were ignored have assumed the crown.
(11:4-5)

There is one who toils and labors and runs,
And all the same he lags behind;
There is one who is sluggish and needing assistance,
Lacking strength and abounding in want,
But the eye of the Lord regards him with favor,
Lifts him out of his lowly condition,
Raises his head and sets him up high,
To the amazement of many.
Good and bad, life and death,
Want and wealth, all come from the Lord.
(11:11-14)

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124 Following the Hebrew text here and wherever suitable. My translation has drawn on several English translations.

II. Paradoxes:

There is the gain that comes in adversity,
And there is the find that turns to loss;
There is the gift that affords you no profit,
And the gift that repays you double.
There is humiliation on account of honor,
And there is one who rises from lowliness.
There is one who buys much for little
And pays for it seven times over.
(20:9-12)

III. God's creation is a union of opposites:

All men come from the ground,
Adam was formed from earth;
In his wisdom the Lord distinguished them,
And diversified their ways.
Some he blessed and lifted high,
Some he hallowed and brought near him;
Some he cursed and humbled,
And removed from their position.
Like clay in the hand of the potter,
To be moulded as he chooses,
So are men in the hand of their maker,
To be dealt with as he decides.
Opposite evil stands good,
Opposite death, life;
Opposite the righteous, the wicked,
Opposite light, darkness.
Observe all the works of God,
They are in pairs, one opposite the other.
(33:10-15)

IV. Man's freedom confronts the opposites:

Do not say, "From God is my sin,"
For he does not do what he hates;
Do not say, "It was he who led me astray,"
For he has no use for sinners.
The Lord hates all that is sinful and foul,

And no one who fears him will love it.
In the beginning God made man,
And left him in the hand of his own inclination;
If you wish, you can keep the commandments,
And have the sense to do his will.
He has set fire and water before you,
Put your hand to whichever you wish;
Before man lie life and death,
Whichever he wishes is given him.
(15:11-17)

V. The opposites reside in man's heart:

The root of reasoning is the heart,
Four branches grow from it:
Good and evil, life and death,
And over them rules the tongue.
There is the clever man, the teacher of many,
Yet he is useless to himself;
There is the clever man who is hated for his words,
And is deprived of all enjoyment;
For grace was not given him by the Lord,
And he is lacking in wisdom;
And there is he who is wise for himself,
And reaps the fruit of his understanding.
(37:17-22)

What PInsinger conveyed by difficult paradoxes Ben Sira explained more lucidly and at greater length. Man is both free and dependent. God is the ultimate cause of the existence of evil through his creation of opposites; but he desires, and rewards, righteousness. Ben Sira may have developed the doctrine of the divine creation of opposites from biblical roots, e.g. Isaiah 45:7. It is nevertheless remarkable that his teaching is identical with the Stoic explanation of evil as resulting from divinely appointed opposite forces in nature. Once again we are faced with one of those wondrous convergences of thought that characterize the Hellenistic age. Ben Sira's synthesis, like that of the Old Stoa, was built on a strong faith; and the same kind of faith made

it possible for the author of PInsinger to place his paradoxes alongside his positive teachings. Thus, more awkwardly than his counterparts, and by means of the concepts of fate and fortune derived from popular Hellenistic thought, he achieved the same result: the union of the sense of human freedom with the sense of dependence, and the joining of right order with reversible order in the deed-and-result sequence.

Now, in his scheme of paradoxes the powers of fate and fortune produced not only reversals of fortune but also reversals of character by which wise men and fools exchanged places. At the end of the Seventh Chapter, the teaching on the right mean, the paradoxes are as follows:

> There is the man wise of heart whose livelihood is hard.
> There is he who is satisfied by fate, there is he who is satisfied by his wisdom.
> He is not a man wise in character who lives by it (the character).
> He is not a fool as such whose life is hard.
> The god lays the heart on the scales opposite the weight.
> He recognized the impious man and the man of god by his heart.
> There is curse or blessing in the character that was given him.
> The commands that the god has commanded to those who are good are in the character.
> The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. (Ins. 5/3-11)

The sequence shows the process by which the paradoxes were softened or altered. The first pair of paradoxes limps, for the second line is not fully paradoxical. After the second pair of paradoxes, the usual single pair of sentences dealing with God's intervention has been expanded to two pairs. And here we encounter one of those very rare statements that attribute to the deity the responsibility for <u>good and bad</u> disposition. This "determinist" view is immediately toned down by the next saying which limits God's action to the endowment of good character. Such alterations can also be seen very

clearly in the Carlsberg variants. PCarlsberg II, 2/14 altered the "determinist" line into one which gives to man the choice between good and bad: "There is curse or blessing in the way which he has placed before him." This new sense, the very opposite of the determinist one, resulted from a very simple verbal change: t3 3my.t r.diw n.f, "the character that was given him," became t3 my.t (r).di.f ḥ3t.f, "the way that he placed before him."

Most of the chapter endings show some elimination of paradoxical lines. We shall survey those that deal with character. The Twelfth Chapter (11/22-13/7) teaches not to be too trusting and ends with two pairs of paradoxes and three explanatory lines, plus the standard refrain invoking fate and fortune:

> There is he who trusts the moment, and he is safe forever.
> There is he who trusts no one but himself.
> He is not a man of heart who is tested in every kind of behavior.
> Nor is he a fool who is discovered by examining it (the behavior).
> Shame is the gift of the god in whom one trusts.
> He does not apportion it to the evil man, nor to the impious one.
> Falsehood does not depart from them, nor the cunning which he loves (i.e. which they love).
> The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who determines them. (Ins. 12/25-13/7)

Here the first pair of paradoxes is again a limping one, since its second member (13/1) is not paradoxical. And the three explanatory lines fail to explain the paradoxes; instead, they revert to the main teaching of the chapter.

The Fourteenth Chapter warns against allowing fools to have power and concludes with a single pair of paradoxes and a one-line explanation:

> He is not a great man who is chosen because of character.
> Nor is he an inferior man who leaves the way because of stupidity.
> The heart, the character, and their owner are in the hand

of the god. (Ins. 15/3-5)

The Seventeenth Chapter (19/6-21/6),which taught endurance of suffering, has three paradoxical lines instead of four and their thrust is weak. Moreover, the explanatory lines that should follow are omitted.

In both the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Chapters, which belong closely together - the first dealing with "patience," the second with "calm," - the paradoxes are much reduced. In the eighteenth chapter only the second pair of paradoxes is preserved and is followed by a single explanatory line:

> He who finds counsel is not a wise man who takes counsel.
> Nor is he whose manner annoys a fool or an idiot.
> Taking counsel, thought, and patience are in the hand of the god. (Ins. 22/3-5)

In the Nineteenth Chapter the first pair of paradoxes is not truly paradoxical and the second pair has been reduced to one line, as is the explanatory conclusion:

> There is the evil man who is calm like a crocodile in water.
> There is the fool who is calm like heavy lead.
> He is not a restless fool who is gripped by unrest.
> It is the god who gives calm and unrest through his commands. (Ins. 23/15-18)

The Twentieth Chapter, on not slighting smallness, (23/20-25/13) has preserved both pairs of paradoxes but, except for the refrain, lacks the explanatory reference to the action of the deity:

> There is he who fears blame, yet he commits a great crime.
> There is he who is loud-mouthed out of scorn, yet he gives service.
> He who guards himself is not a wise and respectful man.
> Nor is he to whom harm comes a deceitful fool. (Ins.25/9-12)

The Twenty-First Chapter, a medley of warnings against vices, (25/14-27/21) has the two pairs of paradoxes of which the first is again a limping one, and the conclusion is reduced to a one-line explanation of the god's action:

There is he who is scorned for his gentleness, yet he is patient toward another through it.
There is he who is arrogant, and he makes a stench in the street.
He who is chosen among the people is not a wise man.
Nor is he a great man who is respected by another.
It is the god who gives the praise and the blameless character. (Ins. 27/16-20)

The Twenty-second Chapter, the teaching not to go abroad, (27/22-29/11) has only the second pair of paradoxes, and the concluding sentences do not attribute the reversals to the deity. Instead, the deity appears as the guarantor of the normal order, as taught in the main body of the chapter (a re-interpretation which we already met in the twelfth chapter):

There is not many a man of the town who knows how to live in it.
Nor is he a stranger whose life is hard.
It is the god who shows the way through the teaching of how to live.
It is he who leaves the impious man to go and come without a place to stay. (Ins. 29/7-10)

Similarly in the Twenty-third Chapter, which dealt with innate dispositions, (29/12-30/16) only the second pair of paradoxes appears, and the conclusion is a perfunctory single line:

He who knows how to steer his heart is not one who is merciful.
Nor is he who knows the curse of haste one who burns.
All these are in the power of the fate and the god.
(Ins. 30/13-15)

Lastly the Twenty-fourth Chapter, the teaching on the "greatness of the god," (30/17-33/6) has both pairs of paradoxes, and they are explained by three lines on the actions of fate in which "fortune" is replaced by "retaliation," a significant substitution which points forward to the concluding chapter whose main theme is retaliation:

There is he who follows his counsel, yet he finds a slaying in it.
There is the deed which the fool commits, yet he does a good deed by it.
He who is at the head of a crowd is not one who runs.
Nor is he who falls on the way one who kills.
Fate and retaliation turn around and bring about what he (the god) has commanded.
Fate does not look ahead, retaliation does not go-and-come wrongfully.
Great is the counsel of the god in putting one thing after another. (Ins. 32/23-33/5)

One thing is clear: the alterations in the paradoxical sequences, made in PInsinger and in the Carlsberg papyri, are more than mere corruptions. They indicate deliberate changes which toned down the sharpness of the paradoxes and lessened the contrast between their drastic denials and the teachings in the main body of the chapters.

It has been said that the paradoxes were meant to guard against a reversed application of the deed-and-result doctrine: one ought not to conclude that a successful man must be a good man, and that whoever suffers must be sinful.[125] This is undoubtedly true, but it is not a full explanation. For such a warning could have been achieved by much simpler means, for instance by saying, as Ankhsheshonqy said, "There is he who saves and does not profit; all (these) are from the hand of the fate and the god" (26/7-8). With sayings such as these, Ankhsheshonqy effectively refuted the facile interpretation of the deed-and-result conviction - without weakening its validity - by adding the dimension of the unknowable plans of the deity.

From this starting point the author of PInsinger developed his complex paradoxical sequences with their tripartite movement, by which he attempted several things: to explain the observable reversals of fortune by relating them to the concept of change and to the actions of the deity working through fate

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125 Brunner, Grundzüge, 121.

and fortune; to emphasize that reversals of the human condition, though unforseeable, should be expected in principle; to make man realize - this too was foreshadowed by Ankhsheshonky - that the cause-and-effect relationship was not only reversible but also multiple and largely hidden from man's understanding; lastly, and this is the author's most difficult teaching and one not anticipated by Ankhsheshonqy, the reversals caused by the deity affect even man's inner being:

> He who knows how to steer his heart is not one who is merciful.
> Nor is he who knows the curse of haste one who burns.
> All these are in the power of the fate and the god.
> (30/13-15)

Such paradoxes are extraordinary and they must have been astounding to their audiences.

Altogether, it seems to me that the paradoxes raise a number of questions:

1. Was the paradox as a rhetorical form of discourse something which the Demotic writer had learned from Greek models?
2. Did he know that Stoic homilies abounded in extreme paradoxes which gave rise to much discussion and imitation?[126]
3. Did his plan to end every chapter, except the final one, with a sequence of paradoxes lead him into difficulties in formulating them, so that he came to handle them mechanically and to strain their meaning?
4. Did the scribes who wrote the several versions of the work find the paradoxes shocking or incomprehensible?

In any case, it cannot be accidental that the best preserved paradoxical sequences are those that dealt with external reversals, while the ones that spoke of the inner man underwent much alteration and shortening. However, if some of the paradoxes were baffling, in their totality their lesson was clear enough. They exalted God's all-embracing power, a power that surpassed man's understanding and limited his fore-

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126 On the rabbinic use of paradoxes see Fischel, Rabbinic Literature, 70ff.: "Stoic paradoxa."

sight. A noteworthy by-product of the paradoxes is that they extended the range of character types by sketching characters that were more complex than those that could be fitted into the straight sage/fool and good/bad confrontations. For instance, the quality of calm was normally a virtue, but when the evil man possessed it, it was dangerous:

> There is the evil man who is calm like a crocodile in water. (23/15)

Conversely, being loud-mouthed need not be as bad as it sounded:

> There is he who is loud-mouthed out of scorn, yet he gives service. (25/10)

Who has not known a choleric and loud-mouthed person who was yet helpful and kind?

As for the intimation that God's power was the ultimate source of both good and evil, the Demotic writer made even less of this than Ben Sira had done, for he lacked Ben Sira's explicit views on God's creation of opposites. His sayings that touch on the transcendent origin of evil are only found in the concluding statements of the paradoxical sequences, and among their scant number there is only one that makes the deity the bestower of good and bad inclinations:

> There is curse or blessing in the character that was given him. (5/9)

The others are more bland or simply positive:

> It is the god who gives calm and unrest through his commands. (23/18)
>
> The heart, the character, and their owner are in the hand of the god. (15/5)
>
> Taking counsel, thought, and patience are in the hand of the god. (22/5)

In sum, though the paradoxes were designed to define the limits of man's freedom and of his understanding, their insistence on God's omnipotence stopped short of reflections on the ultimate source of evil. Indeed, the author's piety prevented such reflections and would have made him assent to the saying of Ben Sira 15:11: "Do not say, 'From God is my sin,' for he does not do what he hates."

4.4 Tyche-Nemesis

Philosophic strictures could not curtail the enormous success of the deified tyche, manifest in daily practices, in the cult, and in the arts. Nor could the philosophic distinction between necessity/fate (heimarmene, ananke, moira) on the one hand, and fortune (tyche) on the other, prevent the joining or merging of the two. PInsinger's pairing of fate and fortune mirrors the prevalent Hellenistic belief. Tyche, moreover, entered into numerous associations with other deities, and one such merger, that of Tyche with Nemesis, is also echoed in Demotic literature.

PInsinger's Twenty-fifth Chapter, entitled "the teaching to guard against retaliation," consists of two parts. The first warns man against seeking vengeance and reaffirms the old conviction that whoever commits a crime will meet with appropriate punishment. The second speaks of retaliation as a power which, evil when employed by man, is the rightful agent of the deity, charged with punishing wrongdoing. In this role, retaliation (p3 tb3) is the negative counterpart of fate (š3y) and of fortune (sḫne), the latter two being life-promoting while retaliation is the destroyer:

> No work quickens for the quick without fate (š3y).
> There is no holding a mortgage or pledge if one is under a curse.
> There is no worry or harm at a time when the god is content.
> Retaliation (p3 tb3) does not cease to harm the destroyer.
> Fortune, blessing, and power (sḫne sm irm ir-sḫy) are by his (the god's) command.
> He metes out punishment for sin, he gives reward for benefaction.
> He creates hunger after satiety, satiety in turn after hunger.
> Men cannot avoid the god and retaliation (p3 ntr irm p3 tb3) when he decrees (it) for them. (Ins. 34/14-21)

In this chapter, retaliation (p3 tb3) is the divine avenger, met elsewhere in Demotic literature, most notable in the Tefnut

Legend, where it takes the shape of the griffin. There, in the fable of the two vultures who are named "Seer"and "Hearer" the two birds watch a griffin kill a lion, and thereafter the "Hearer" explains to his companion: "Do you not know that the griffin is the ⌜agent⌝ of [death]? He is the herdsman of all that is upon earth. He is the avenger upon whom no avenger can take vengeance. ... He wields power over everything that is upon earth like death, the avenger, who is also the herdsman of all that is upon earth."[127]

More than eighty years ago F. Ll. Griffith had shown that this avenger, p3 tb3, Coptic Petbe, was identical with Nemesis.[128] Since then the numerous Graeco-Egyptian monuments with griffins representing Nemesis have been studied.[129] The city of Alexandria was a leader in the cult of Tyche and of Tyche-Nemesis, and in assigning to the Egyptian griffin the symbols of the merged goddess. And with the Tyche cult known throughout Egypt from the coins bearing the image of the goddess, familiarity with the deity and her symbols and associations was inevitable. Thus the fable in the Tefnut Legend and the griffin monuments made explicit what PInsinger here touches on: Petbe is Tyche-Nemesis, the divine avenger who requites all crimes. PInsinger's allusion is yet another element in the chain of evidence linking this work with Hellenistic culture.

4.5 The Good Life

To acquire property early in life as a hedge against poverty in old age; to shun all evil means of gaining wealth; to share one's wealth liberally with others; and to enjoy the good

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127 Spiegelberg, Sonnenauge, col.15/1-5; Tait, Acta Orientalia 37 (1976) 27-44, new edition of the fable of the two vultures. See also Brunner-Traut in Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur (Otto Gedenkschrift) 125-142 and illustrations.

128 PSBA 22 (1900) 162f.

129 Most recently I. Flagge, Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des Greifen, 1975; see especially chapter 10. See also Barta JEOL 23 (1973/74) 335-357.

things of life - these were basic teachings which Ankhsheshonqy and PInsinger shared with classic Egyptian wisdom. Yet in all aspects PInsinger's treatment of these themes shows modification and innovation. Where Ankhsheshonqy had much to say on the importance of acquiring property, of investing it for growth and protecting it, PInsinger's emphasis is on the need to obtain a minimum for a livelihood, to make it last by living frugally, and not to hanker after wealth. Major wealth is declared a gift of God bestowed on the man who is generous with help to others. Thus Ankhsheshonqy's saying (13/9) "Every man acquires property; it is a wise man who knows how to protect it," is changed in PInsinger to read, "It is the god who gives wealth; it is a wise man who protects <it>." (5/15).[130]

Numerous sayings mostly in chapters 15 and 16 recommend frugality for oneself and liberality toward others, and condemn greed and ill-gotten gains: "The goods of the greedy are ashes driven by the wind" (16/22); the right goal is "small wealth with blessing" (16/21). Advancing beyond this, PInsinger reaches a lofty view which leaves material concerns behind:

> He who knows what is within the man of god does not hoard riches. (Ins. 18/18)

In Egyptian wisdom I know no parallel to this formulation of the idea of spiritual wealth. It recalls the famous Stoic saying, "Only the sage is rich," which became one of the so-called Stoic paradoxes preserved for posterity by Cicero's prolix commentary.[131] Shorn of "only," it seems to have been a popular saying:

> ὁ σοφὸς ἐν αὐτῷ περιφέρει τὴν οὐσίαν
>
> The sage carries wealth within himself. (Sent. Men. 404)

The Sixteenth Chapter continues the discussion of wealth and then turns into a three-part discourse on the good life.

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130 PInsinger's more complete discussion of wealth will become known when the Philadelphia fragments are published; see the sayings cited above pp. 108-9 which include a duplicate of the sentence in 5/15.

131 Cicero, Paradoxa Stoicorum, no. 6: Solum sapientem esse divitem.

First, there is the recommendation to enjoy the good things of life, notably wine, women, and food, and to do so while young, for "he who has passed sixty years, everything has passed for him." (17/4-20). Second, there is a discussion of the "ages of man," a theme not found elsewhere in Egyptian wisdom but often treated by Greek and Roman writers. (17/21-18/5). Third, there are thoughts on death and on the punishment awaiting the greedy man; and here we encounter yet another popular theme: "You can't take it with you." (18/6-18).

The first section ends by observing that the man who has passed his days in hoarding his income instead of utilizing it is one who has not lived at all (17/20). Then follows the "ages of man" theme:

> The life that approaches the peak, two-thirds of it are lost.
> He (man) spends ten ‹years› as a child before he understands death and life.
> He spends another ten ‹years› to acquire the work of instruction by which he will be able to live.
> He spends another ten years gaining and earning possessions by which to live.
> He spends another ten years up to old age before his heart takes counsel.
> There remain sixty years of the whole life which Thoth has recorded for the man of god.
> One in a million, the god giving his blessing, is he who spends them with the fate being satisfied.
> Neither the sinner nor the man of god can alter the lifetime that was recorded for him. (Ins. 17/21-18/5)

To understand the whole passage it is necessary to read the first line as:

> p3 'ḥ' nty ḫn r ḫry iw wn p3y.f 2/3 n 3ḳ
> The life that approaches the peak, 2/3 of it are lost.

That is to say, we must read the sign ⌒ as ḫry, "the above" = "the peak," and not as the numeral 100.[132] The peak occurs at

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132 The reading ḫry is owed to Lexa, Papyrus Insinger, 56.

the age of sixty at which point two-thirds of that span, namely the first four decades described in the next lines, appear as "lost" years, for they were only years of preparation. The idea that life attained its peak at the age of sixty must have had some significance, for it is also referred to in line 17/11 as the limit after which a man's health and appetites begin to fail. But it was not carried through, for in the next lines the four decades of preparation are said to issue directly into "old age" (i3w.t) which thus begins at forty. At this point a man was ready to "take counsel" and if blessed by the god might look forward to another sixty years in which to lead a pious life. The possible total life span thus amounted to a hundred years, the recording (sḥ) of sixty years of maturity for the pious man constituting the limit of the ideal life and not a promise of its attainment.

I have nothing to add to what has been written about the "ideal lifetime of the Egyptians" and its variations from 100 to 110 and 120 years,[133] beyond noting that in choosing one-hundred years the Demotic writer once again agreed with Ben Sira (18/9). The interest of the passage does not lie in the concept of the ideal lifetime but rather in the use of the "ages of man" topos for which there exists a multitude of Greek and Latin versions.[134] PInsinger's four stages from childhood to maturity reflect a treatment of the theme which divided the lifespan into decades, but our author did not attempt to carry it through. Nor did the treatments of the topos commonly use a division into decades. Boll found no major instance of it in the classical sources but he remarked that it was popular in Medieval German verse.[135] Now, together with the truncated

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133 See Lefebvre, CRAIBL 1944, 106-119; Janssen, OMRO n.s. 31 (1950) 33-40; Hornung, Eranos Jahrbuch 47 (1978) 269ff.

134 See especially the erudite and elegant monograph by F. Boll, Die Lebensalter (1913). On the theme in Jewish literature see L. Löw, Die Lebensalter in der jüdischen Literatur (1875).

135 Op. cit. 22-24, e.g.: "Zehn jar ein Kindt/ Zwanzig jar ein Jüngling/ Dreissig jar ein Mann/ Vierzig jar wolgethan/ etc.

enumeration of life's stages the author of PInsinger employed the simple and archaic division of life into its basic two stages: youth and old age. Greek writers handled this ancient theme in two ways: praising youth and lamenting old age, or combining the praise of youth with the defense of old age as the time of serenity and wisdom. But the Demotic writer here came down entirely on the side of old age - in contrast with his earlier reflections on its failings (17/11-14). Altogether, the two sets of figures for the onset of old age, the conflation of two different models of the "ages of man" theme, and the differing evaluations of old age amount to a medley of various traditions. The very absence of harmony in the handling of the "ages of man" theme indicates that the writer did not develop his theme from Egyptian traditions only,but that he drew on a foreign, i.e. Greek, model.

The third part of the discourse, from line 18/6 to the end of the chapter, turns to thoughts on death. Enjoying his life and making good use of his possessions, the sensible man remembers death and knows that his end is "to be buried on the mountain with his burial equipment" (18/12); with his burial equipment - not with his wealth. To the greedy man, however, the inability to take his riches with him in death is a source of affliction:

> The owner of millions who acquired them by hoarding cannot take them to the mountain in his hand. (Ins. 18/13)
> Great is the affliction of those who left the way at leaving their savings to another. (Ins. 18/17)

Here the basic thought - "You can't take it with you" - has been broadened by the reflection that hoarded wealth becomes the property of others, and the observation that the avaricious man is pained by this knowledge. Some Greek formulations of the basic thought are pre-Hellenistic, e.g. "For treasured riches naught avail the dead" (Aeschylus, Persae 840). But the bulk of the formulations, with their elaborations, date from the Hellenistic age and constitute a topos shared by Aramaic, Hebrew, Egyptian, and Greek sapiential works. Citing some examples will bring out the interrelatedness of the several

treatments:

1. Ben Sira 11:18-20:

There is one who grows rich by stinting and saving,
And this is the reward he gets for it:
When he says, 'I have earned my rest
And now I can eat of my goods,'
He does not know how long it will be
Till he must leave them to others and die.
(See also 14:3-4.15-16 and Prov 13:22)

2. Qohelet's three variations on the theme are starkly pessimistic observations on the "vanity" of human activity:
a) The man who has labored wisely to gain wealth must leave it to someone who has not toiled at all - that is "vanity and a great evil." (2:21)
b) There is the man who has neither family nor friends yet strives insatiably after riches - that is "vanity and a bad business." (4:8)
c) There is the man who has gained wealth and then loses it all and departs naked as he was born - that is a "grave evil." (5:12-14)

3. If Qohelet's pessimism sets him somewhat apart, the Syriac Pseudo-Menander is in the mainstream of sapiential thinking on this topic:

If you own goods and have gained property,
eat of your goods as long as you live.
Let your eyes see and your feet tread,
for remember and behold:
In Sheol no one can use his goods,
and wealth does not accompany you to the house of death.
Therefore, do not deny yourself good things,
for better is one day under the sun
than a hundred years inside Sheol. (no. 66)

Here the topos has been combined with another popular commonplace: any life on earth is better than the shadowy dwelling in the netherworld.

4. The Slavonic Ahiqar has a succinct version:

If you have wealth do not let yourself be tormented by

hunger or thirst. When you die, another will enjoy your wealth, and you shall have toiled in vain. (no. 89)

5. The hellenized Jewish Pseudo-Phocylides said it in labored hexameters:

Being rich do not skimp, remember that you are mortal,
Wealth and possessions will not follow you into Hades. (109-110)

6. The Sententiae Menandri put it most succinctly:

ἀπῆλθεν οὐδεὶς τῶν βροτῶν πλοῦτον φέρων

No man when he departs can carry wealth along. (no. 809)

7. PInsinger's version has a counterpart in the tomb of Petosiris, where the thought appears in a two-line verse, the first line of which has the pithiness of a proverb:

šm s šm ḫt.f
As man goes his goods go. (Inscr. no. 127,4)

5. Minor Themes and Individual Terms

5.1 The Education of Sons

In the Tenth Chapter, the "teaching not to weary of educating your son," old and new concepts lie side by side. On the one hand, the foolish son who resists learning - likened to a statue of stone as in Ankhsheshonqy 21/20 for being such a burden to his father - must be forced and punished by means of the stick. On the other hand, it is realized that, for education to succeed, a youth must have the willingness to learn and a sense of "shame" (špy/šyp).

That beating was a helpful tool in education was an old conviction which Egypt shared with its Near Eastern neighbors. Its practice is recommended in the Wisdom of Ahiqar, in Proverbs, and in Ben Sira. What is noteworthy is that the especially drastic formulation found in the Old Aramaic Ahiqar recurs in Proverbs 23:13-14 and in PInsinger 9/9.

a) Ahiqar:

Withhold not thy son from the rod, else thou wilt not be

able to save [him from ⌜wickedness⌝]. If I smite thee, my son, thou wilt not die; but if I leave thee to thine own heart [thou wilt not live].[136]

b) PInsinger 9/6-11:

Thoth has placed the stick on earth to teach the fool by it.
He gave shame (šyp) to the wise man for the sake of escaping all crime/punishment (btw).
The youth who has respect through shame (snte r-tb3 špy) is not scorned with punishment (btw).
A son does not die from punishment (btw) at the hand of his father.
He who loves his spoiled son will spoil himself with him.
The stick and shame protect his ⌜son⌝ from the fiend (sšr).

The concept of "shame" is an important one in PInsinger, and one not previously found in Egyptian wisdom. Once again, we observe in the sapiential thinking of the Hellenistic age a convergence of Greek, late-biblical, and late Egyptian concepts. It is also noteworthy that Greek αἰσχύνη, Hebrew bošet, and Demotic špy/šyp, all meant "shame" as well as "shameful behavior" or "shamelessness." When Greek writers wished to avoid the ambiguity they used aidos, which Stoic moral philosophy classified as a subspecies of sophrosyne. The dual meaning of bošet prompted Ben Sira to explain that there were two kinds of shame (4:21).

In sum, having adopted the "modern" view that shame was a major factor in education and in the behavior of the educated person, the Demotic writer made the concept of shame complementary to the old advocacy of corporal punishment, and he gave to the latter a formulatiom strikingly similar to the one employed by Ahiqar.

In the next lines (9/12-15) PInsinger made the point that an unteachable son is undeserving of life and a worse trial to a father than having no sons at all. The thought was shared

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136 So rendered in ANET, 428.

by Ben Sira (16:1-3) and recurs in the Sentences of Sextus (nos. 254-256).

5.2 The "Fiend"

If the term "shame" evokes the Hellenistic ambience, so does the word sšr, "fiend," which we have just encountered in line 9/11. Demotic sšr, from the old root sḫr, "to throw down" which in the Late Period also yielded the noun shr, "enemy," (see Wb 4,257-8) meant first of all "demon," i.e. a minor divinity, usually of malicious disposition. However, in PInsinger, where it appears six times, the word seems to have a quite specific connotation:

1) Do not go about much with the sšr for the sake of his name (r-tbȝ rn.f). (3/15)
2) The stick and shame protect his ⌜son⌝ from the sšr. (9/11)
3) The work of the sšr affects the wise man because of cunning. (12/7)
4) The fool who is insolent is overpowered by the sšr. (12/9)
5) The small river has its sšr. (24/11)
6) The impious man who becomes a stranger puts himself in the hand of the sšr. (28/5)

Only in the fifth example is the sšr an ordinary "demon," that is to say, a divine-and-natural force that holds sway in the river. In the other five instances the sšr is a being who does harm to man and with whom one should not "go about" (šm-iy).

Commenting on the saying in 28/5, Volten (Weisheitsbuch II, 98) proposed that sšr here meant "the devil," and he remarked, with reference to the noun shr, that the word "enemy" had the meaning "devil" in various languages. He added the suggestion that probably the god Seth was meant. The proposal that sšr here signifies "the devil" has merit, but it requires better support that the references to the extended meaning of "enemy" and to the god Seth. For we need to distinguish between the old Egyptian belief in demons, and in a major evil deity identified with Seth, and the newly emerging figure of "the Devil," the adversary of God, who is bent on corrupting man: the Satan of Job, and the Belial of the Apocrypha. He is a newcomer, still at the beginning of his successful career.

The close association of the sšr with men, both foolish and wise ones, and the warning not to "go about" with him, seem to me to point more to a special kind of evil person than to a demon. A verse in Proverbs may be relevant: Prov 16:27 speaks of the iš belial, where the conventional rendering, "scoundrel" fails to bring out the "satanic" nature of this evil man. The problem can hardly be solved without additional sources - sources which may well exist (I lack expertise in demonology).

5.3 Good and Bad Women

Like Ankhsheshonqy before him, the author of PInsinger divided women into good and bad ones. He assembled all his sayings on women in the Ninth Chapter and, omitting the topic "mothers," narrowed his focus to a discussion of women in the context of adultery. We have noted that writing about women in terms of "good" and "bad" ones was a Hellenistic literary topos and one that lent itself to a satiric treatment, such as Ankhsheshonqy's. The author of PInsinger, being a strict moralist, had no use for witticisms, nor for a permissive attitude towards adultery. He nevertheless made a significant contribution, for he identified the topic "women" as a theme in Demotic literature by alluding to writings on "bad women":

> There is she who is mistress of praise as mistress of the house through her character.
> There is she whom I know as the blame of the bad woman (p3 ḫsf n sḫm.t bn). (Ins. 8/9-10)

On the basis of the variant in PCarlsberg II,4.10 - "There are those who are in the writings as the blames of women" - and the reference to "the blames of women" in the Satiric Poem of the Harper, Volten had proposed that a book entitled "Tadel der Frauen" was named here (Weisheitsbuch II,49). It is plausible; but there is no need to emend PInsinger's version (as Volten did) so as to make it agree with the Carlsberg variant, nor need we think in terms of a "book." It suffices to see in the phrase, "the blame of the bad woman" - with its variants that use the plural - the title of the Demotic literary treatments of the topos, probably in groups of aphorisms.

PInsinger's conclusion on women reads:

i.ir špšy.t wr3.t ḫr p3 t3 ḫn n3 sḫm.t.w (8/19)

In JEA 54 (1968) 179 George Hughes discussed the two demons špšy.t and wry.t, demons of good and bad fortune respectively, and suggested that when the two terms were defined by the definite article or by an adjective, they signified the demons of good and bad fortune, but undefined they meant "good fortune" and "bad fortune." He therefore translated the PInsinger sentence as: "It is in women that good fortune and bad fortune are upon earth." I wonder if this distinction really holds and whether we do not obtain a better sense if we take the sentence to mean that good and bad demons are responsible for the good and bad characters of women. Hence I would rather translate:

> It is in women that the good demon (špšy.t) and the bad demon (wr3.t) are active on earth.

In late-biblical wisdom it is once again not Qohelet's misogyny (7:26-29) but Ben Sira's elaborate discourse on bad and good wives (25:13ff.) which provides a close parallel to PInsinger's way of thinking.

5.4 Strangers

ξένους ξένιζε καὶ σὺ γὰρ ξένος γ' ἔσῃ

Strangers befriend because a stranger you may be.
(Sententiae Menandri 400)

Hospitality toward strangers was a widely recognized duty. But not until the Hellenistic age do we find the obligation formulated in many gnomic sayings. The author of PInsinger devoted his entire Twenty-second Chapter to the hardships of the stranger's life. In contrast with Ben Sira, he took a wholly negative position on travel and warned against living away from one's home town. Yet though Ben Sira had good words for the broadening experience of travel, both agreed that the lot of the stranger was a miserable one. (Ben Sira 29:22ff.)

PInsinger distinguished between the "fool" who travels for no good reason and will encounter nothing but hardships, and the "wise man" who, if compelled to leave his town, remains

faithful to it and with the help of God will succeed in returning. It is one of the most vivid and best integrated chapters, and one that strongly conveys the impression of drawing on no longer extant sources.

5.5 Not to slight Smallness

PInsinger's Twentieth Chapter, on "not to slight small things," deals with a topic that has no known prototypes in Egyptian wisdom, until it makes a brief appearance in Ankhsheshonqy (12/10 & 16/25). The theme of "slighting," ὀλιγωρία, occupies a section in Aristotle's Rhetoric (II.2,1378b) but there is no mention of slighting "smallness." This aspect of slighting, however, appears as a topos in Hellenistic times.

Cautioning against slighting small things, both PInsinger and Ben Sira praised the bee as a shining example of a small creature that has great value:

> The small bee brings the honey. (Ins. 25/2)
>
> Small among winged creatures is the bee,
> But her produce is the sweetest of the sweet.(Ben Sira 11/3)

And in common with the two Demotic writers, Ben Sira forecast trouble for him who disdains small matters:

> He who scorns trifles will be ruined. (Ben Sira 19:1b)

The Sententiae Menandri gave it a neat turn:

> εἰ μὴ φυλάξεις μίκρ' ἀπολεῖς τὰ μείζονα
>
> Unless you 'll guard the small you 'll lose the great. (Sent. Men. 172)

The Sentences of Sextus stressed the moral aspect:

> μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἀκριβῶς βίου
> οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ἐν βίῳ τὸ παρὰ μικρόν
>
> Down to the smallest matters live conscientiously,
> for in life it is not little to disregard the little.[137]
> (nos. 9-10)

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137 Compare Samuel Johnson: "There is nothing, Sir, too little for so little a creature as man. It is by studying little things that we attain the great art of having as little misery and as much happiness as possible." (Boswell, Life of Johnson, Aetat.54, 14 July 1763)

5.6 Abstinence

Moderation in eating was an old sapiential theme, in Egypt treated at length in the Instructions of Ptahhotep and Kagemni, in both of which it is discussed in the context of table manners. In PInsinger, however, moderation in eating and drinking, treated in the chapter on gluttony, is recommended for the sake of good health (6/8-18). The wide-ranging Ben Sira reviewed both aspects (31:12ff., table manners; 37:27ff.,illness)

Now in addition, PInsinger has a single saying on moderate eating in an entirely different context, namely in the Twenty-third Chapter, the chapter that dealt with the relationship between causality and inner disposition. Here, wedged between observations on this interaction, there occurs the sentence:

i.ir n3-'n 'rḏ r-tb3 ḫ'r.t gn

It is because of many foods that firmness is good. (30/1) Given the context, this must mean that the right response to the presence of many foods is "firmness" ('rḏ) in the sense of "abstinence." The verb 'rḏ meant "to make fast, make firm, secure, protect"; it is in this concrete sense that the verb is used in Ankhsheshonqy 13/9: "Every man acquires property; it is a wise man who knows how to protect/secure it" (rmt rḫ p3 nty rḫ 'rḏ.f). Somewhat more abstract shades of meaning of 'rḏ are also known, for example in P. Berlin 13538, where we read: ḥb n.i p3 w3ḥ r p3 'rḏ, which Zauzich rendered, "Schicke mir die Antwort zu (meiner) Bestärkung."[138] Now, though the rendering "firmness" provides a fairly adequate meaning for the saying of PInsinger, I would like to suggest that the Demotic writer may have used the word in the specific sense of "abstinence, continence," in short that 'rḏ here equals ἐγκράτεια, as used for instance in Sextus 86a: κρηπὶς εὐσεβείας ἐγκράτεια, which the Latin version of Rufinus translated by: "fundamentum pietatis continentia." The fact that the expression "many foods" is also used in a related saying of Sextus is a remarkable coincidence: τροφαὶ πολλαὶ ἁγνείαν ἐμποδίζουσιν, "Abundant foods impede chastity" (no. 108).

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138 DPB I, P. 13538, vs. 6.

5.7 The "Man of God"

We have seen that by the term "man of god" (rmt ntr) PInsinger enlarged the concept of the "wise man" (see above p. 121). The term also occurs outside of PInsinger, for instance in the Demotic version of the Raphia Decree, where, in line 17, King Ptolemaios IV Philopator is lauded for being "on the way of a man of god" (ḫr t3 my.t n rmt ntr), an expression which is a conflation of the terms "way of god" and "man of god." In PInsinger, the term "way of god" appears just twice (12/1 and 29/4), while "man of god" is used sixteen times.[139] Now, without attempting to discuss interconnections, I juxtapose:

rmt ntr -- iš elohim -- theios aner & anthropos theou.

Among the several uses of the Greek terms, one seems especially significant in regard to PInsinger: in the Stoa, theios aner was an epithet of the "wise man."[140]

5.8 A List of Vices

In PInsinger's final chapter, at the conclusion of the discourse on retaliation, there occurs the sentence:

kns 3yt krš tm-n' bw irw ḫtp 'n 'n
Violence, want, insult, unkindness, they never never rest. (35/1)

Though in keeping with the tenor of the work as a whole, the sentence stands out by its somberness, and even more by the manner of its formulation: a list of four aspects of vice and misery. There is nothing comparable in older Egyptian wisdom. But once again the Hellenistic spirit is evoked. A fixed list of four cardinal virtues, matched by a list of four corresponding vices, were standard elements of Stoic ethics:

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139 In biographical inscriptions of the Late Period, "way of god" is a synonym of the older term "way of life." PInsinger uses only "way of god." The "way of life" concept has been much studied, notably by Couroyer, RB 56 (1949) 412-431.

140 See Theologisches Wörterbuch III, 123: theios aner.

φρόνησις ἀνδρεία σωφροσύνη δικαιοσύνη
Understanding, Courage, Moderation, Justice;
ἀφροσύνη δειλία ἀκολασία ἀδικία
Foolishness, Cowardice, Licentiousness, Injustice.

Originally analytic and descriptive in intent, the two catalogs became the models of lists drawn up in the homilies of moral philosophers, especially of the Cynic and Stoic schools. The purpose having shifted from analysis to exhortation and reproof, the new catalogs of virtues and vices departed from the Stoic models without, however, losing their connection with them, and the quaternary form remained prominent. For example, Dio Chrysostomus, castigating the rulers whose corrupt morals fostered vices among their subjects, listed these as:

στάσεις καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ ἀσέβεια πολλή
Rebellions, injustices, violence, and great impiety.[141]

Epictetus advised a disciple to shun:"Wrath, anger, envy, pity"

σοὶ μὴ ὀργὴν εἶναι μὴ μῆνιν μὴ φθόνον μὴ ἔλεον[142]

Ben Sira's lists of vices and calamities are arranged in groups of four's and three's, the following passage consisting of two four's:

To all creatures from man to beast -
and seven times over to sinners -
come death and bloodshed, strife and sword,
disaster, famine, ruin, and plague. (40:8-9)
(see also 40:5 and 10:8)

Thus it does not seem far-fetched to propose that PInsinger's quaternary list owed something to an acquaintance with this prominent topos of Greek homilies, one which had been taken up by Jewish moralists, and was to culminate in the Pauline Epistles.[143]

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141 Vögtle, Tugend- und Lasterkataloge, 66; Wibbing, Tugend- und Lasterkataloge, 22.

142 Vögtle, op. cit. 67; Wibbing, op. cit. 21, note 54.

143 Exx. Rom 1:29-31 & 13:13; Wibbing, op. cit. 78ff.

5.9 Some Proverbial Sayings

We have seen that Ankhsheshonqy made extensive use of proverbs and often cited them at random without a suitable context (see above pp. 28-37). The author of PInsinger, however, strove to integrate all individual sayings into his larger schemes. As a result, there are few recognizable proverbs, and they all seem to be "literary" rather than "popular."

Here are some of his "better"-sayings:

1) Better the small (deed) of the quick than the large one of him who delays. (Ins. 3/21)
2) Better the son of another than a son who is an accursed fool. (Ins. 9/15)
3) Better a serpent in the house than a fool who frequents it. (Ins. 13/10)
4) Better the portion of him who is silent than the portion of him who says "Give me." (Ins. 23/5)
5) Better death in want than life in shamelessness. (Ins.27/3)

Only for the last of the five have I found close international parallels, which confer proverbial status on the saying, whose basic idea is the same despite variations. The Slavonic Ahiqar cites it thus:

A good death is better for a man than a bad life.[144]

The formulation in the Sententiae Menandri comes closest to that of PInsinger:

ζωῆς πονηρᾶς θάνατος αἱρετώτερος

Death is preferable to a wicked life.[145]

So far, the saying has been strictly moralizing. However, the versions of Ankhsheshonqy and of Ben Sira are morally neutral:

Better death than want. (Ankhsh. 21/22)

Better death than a wretched life,
and eternal rest than constant pain. (Ben Sira 30:17)

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144 Conybeare et al., p. 6, no.64.

145 Jaekel, Menandri Sententiae, no.276.

In addition to the "better"-sayings - some of them genuine literary proverbs, others merely sayings formulated on the same pattern - PInsinger has another handful of sayings that qualify as literary proverbs.

1) What comes from the earth returns to it again. (Ins. 30/6)

In its biblical formulations (Genesis 3:19, Qohelet 3:20 & 12:7, Ben Sira 40:11 & 41:10) the saying illustrates man's mortality. But PInsinger cites it in the chapter on innate dispositions, where it lacks a direct allusion to man's transitoriness. Similarly, it was in the context of observations on natural phenomena that Xenophanes of Colophon had declared:

ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα καὶ εἰς γῆν πάντα τελευτᾷ
Everything is from earth and in earth everything ends.[146]

And as a Hellenistic commonplace, the saying occurs twice in the Sententiae Menandri:

γῆ (or χθὼν) πάντα τίκτει καὶ πάλιν κομίζεται
Earth brings forth all and takes them back again.[147]

2) A town in which you have no family, your heart is your family.[148]
A man's good character, it serves as company around him. (Ins. 25/16-17)

Here made into a pair, the sayings appear separately with variations in Ankhsheshonqy (11/11, 18/13 & 21/25) and in Louvre Dem. P. 2414 I/13.

3) Do not hasten to seek a quarrel with a powerful ruler. He who thrusts his [chest] at the spear will be struck by it. (Ins. 4/2-3)

The second line is PInsinger's contribution to the proverbs illustrating that an imprudent or noxious deed will harm the doer (see above pp. 28-30).

4) He who loves to hoard wealth will die robbed of it. (17/8)

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146 Kranz, Vorsokratische Denker, p. 60, no.27.

147 Nos. 89 and 539 in the edition of Edmonds.

148 Note the drastic segmentation of the first subject, "A town," not recalled by a preposition in the second clause.

Of PInsinger's several observations on the theme "You can't take it with you" (see above p. 156) this one has the conciseness of a proverbial saying.

5) Do not squander the little you have if there is no storehouse behind you. (Ins. 4/6)

This is the same advice as Ankhsheshonqy's line 9/24.

6) Do not by yourself adopt a custom that differs from those of the land.
He who raves with the crowd is not called a fool.
(Ins. 4/10-11)

The generalization has the ring of a proverb, and the thought, though not the phrasing, is paralleled in the Sententiae Menandri: "By custom everything is done and judged." (no. 368)

In sum, PInsinger's moral seriousness discouraged citing proverbs for their own sake, as his more carefree predecessor had so liberally done.

6. Tables of Themes and Terms

PInsinger's themes have been summarized on pp. 112-114. The purposes of the following tables are, first, to provide a list of the classes of persons who constitute the social setting of the work, which may be compared with the list of persons drawn up for the Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy (pp. 54-55). Second, to give easy access to PInsinger's elaborate terminology. Both the extensive use of abstract terms, and the overall amplitude of the psychological and ethical vocabulary - a far more differentiated one than that of Ankhsheshonqy though the two also have much in common - are distinctive features which set this Instruction apart from all other works of the genre.

The division of the vocabulary into "positive" and "negative" terms is meant to facilitate rapid use, for a single list would have been unwieldy. But in order to keep certain compound terms together, some "negative" traits have been included in the "positive" list. Certain words, moreover, have both positive and negative meanings. Hence the division is not a rigid one. The vocabulary references are almost complete.

I. Persons	(the references are not exhaustive)
Parents	Chapter 6(2/1-20) & 18/19
Sons, Fathers/Sons	Chapter 10(8/21-9/20) & 2/16 12/20
Brothers	12/19 13/14-15 18/19 26/14-15 28/16
Women, Wives	Chapter 9(7/21-8/19) & 3/9 7/11 11/5 12/22 17/14-15 18/22 32/20
Family	8/5 15/14 16/8.18 25/16 26/14-15 28/16
Friends, Neighbors	6/21 12/18 13/13 16/8
Enemies	12/8 21/14 26/4
Superiors, Masters, Great/Rich/Strong Men	3/11.13 10/12-11/18 11/20 12/21 14/11 14/15 15/3 20/18 21/22 22/18 23/22 27/7-8.19 28/23 31/17
Inferiors, Common Men, Poor/Weak Men	14/3.8-9 15/1-2.4 16/3-4.13 19/16-17 19/21 26/1.3 28/18 29/13 31/17 32/16
The Blind & the Lame	11/24 12/1
Servants/Slaves	12/21 14/11 28/18
Strangers	Chapter 22(28/1-29/11)
Thieves	13/9.18
Old Men	3/12 7/3-4 17/19 33/24
Youths	8/14 9/8 24/14
King, Royalty	4/4 23/25 35/9
God	2/9-11.20 5/7-11.15 7/17-19 9/19-20 10/1 11/12-13.20 12/1-2 13/4.7 14/12-13 14/15.19 15/5-6.10.19 16/3-4.11-14 17/2-3 18/4.15-16.23 19/9-10.12-13.15 19/19-20 20/4.11.13.21 21/6.9.17-18 22/2.5-6 23/11.18-19.23.25 24/6 25/6.13 27/20-21 28/4.10.14 29/1.3.9.11-12 30/7 30/12.15-16 & Chapter 24(30/18-33/6)
Named gods (Thoth, Hapy, Hathor, etc.)	4/17 8/11.18 9/6 16/21 20/17-19 21/11 35/9.14

Note: For Wise/Pious Men see rmt rḫ and rmt ntr in Table II.
For Fools/Impious Men see rmt bn, rmt swg in Table II and ỉḫ, bnè, s3b3 in Table III.

II. The Anthropological Vocabulary: Positive Terms

3my.t	Character, behavior, nature	2/3.23 5/1.5.9 8/9 9/5.19.22 11/7.10 12/14 13/2 14/5.22 15/2 15/3.5 18/22 22/8 25/17 26/13 27/20 29/6 30/9
3nṯ	draw away	14/5
3sy, ys	hasten, urgent	10/21 22/21
3s'	be weightless	22/19
3tp	load, burden	23/3 30/22
i3w.t	old age	18/2 19/20 23/13 33/20
ḫm-n-i3w.t	small-of-age	24/14
iwe.t	pledge	26/19-20 34/15
iwe.t	reward	10/14
iwe.t	gladness	17/15
ib	heart	30/19-20
ip	reckon, think of, consider	7/22 12/16 22/18 26/9 30/3 34/13
tm ip	thoughtless	3/4
ir.t in 'w n ir.t	happiness	18/21 20/19
ḫm ir.t	despair	19/18 26/8 35/7
isw	expenditure, income	6/17.24 7/17 8/8
'y in ty 'y	vaunt, let grow	10/11 11/4 30/11
'm	swallow	32/1
ty rḫ 'me	instruction	35/13
'n, n3-'n	be beautiful, good	4/12.16 7/7-8 8/4.23
n3-'n r	better than	2/8 3/21 9/15 13/10 17/19 23/5-6 27/3 28/1
'n smy	report	11/2
'nḫ	live, life	2/7.12 3/14 4/21 5/5-6 6/8 7/13 9/14.17 13/12 15/16 17/6.22-23 18/1 19/18 20/8 24/24-25 26/11 27/3.23 28/4 29/7-8 33/23
gy n 'nḫ	manner of life, livelihood	5/3.17 6/15 8/2 10/3 11/4 17/7 26/17 29/9
'rḏ	firmness	30/1
'ḥ'	stand still, halt	10/21 19/23
'ḥ' irm	meet with	30/23
'ḥ'	lifetime, life	2/14 4/5.8 7/3 9/13 17/9.19-21 18/3.5.14 19/1 20/10.15 23/13 30/23 35/7

'š	call, invite	16/6-7 19/13 26/6 35/5
'š-sḫn	undertaking fortune	10/21 11/3 12/12 32/18
'š3-mt.t	prattler	3/6
w3ṯ (wṯ)	differ	20/14-15 32/19
wy	be far, outcast	4/20 11/19 14/11 21/17 28/6-7
wp.t	work, action, occupation	3/18 6/10 7/5 8/18 11/13 12/7 14/4.10.23 17/23 20/4 26/11 27/10 28/1-2 29/22 30/4.21 31/23 32/16
wpy.t	judgment	31/15
wnw.t	hour	20/15
wr.t	wealth, riches	17/8 18/7.18 19/2
whm m whm	renew, repeat in turn	2/12 21/16 27/7 20/17-18
wḫ3	seek, search, desire, examine	2/4 4/2 7/3 9/22 10/13-14 11/8 12/5.10.20 13/3 17/13-14 19/8 24/4 27/7 28/24 30/5 32/6 34/6
wsf	rest	23/8
wstn	be free, generous, generosity	3/11 10/16 15/10-11.21 18/20
wš, ir wš, n wš	lack, cease, without	7/6 10/8 21/13-14 30/9 34/17
wšt	worship	29/1
wtb	revert, provisions	7/4.17 17/18 24/3 29/21
wḏ3, wḏ3y p3 wḏ3y wḏ3.t	be safe, saved, flourish, remnant death reserve, recovery, safety, well-being	7/12 9/2 10/2.7 19/6 20/1.5 25/24 28/17 29/2 31/14 35/6 6/3 6/23 7/1.5 12/25 17/1 24/3.18
bl <u>in</u> ir bl	escape	9/7 24/1 27/6 31/8 34/6
pḥ	reach, arrive, attain, avail, be fitting, result	2/22 4/19 7/9.24 14/18 19/2 21/3.10.12 23/7 24/14 28/16 30/20 33/7
m3', m3'y m3'.t	be true, justified truth, justice	9/18 10/8 11/13-14 12/16 27/12 26/24 27/7
myt	way	11/24 15/4 18/17 28/10 29/9 31/14 32/13 33/24
myt ntr	way of god	12/1 29/4
my.t	way, teaching	5/19 7/20 8/6.21 11/22 14/3 15/7 17/4 21/8 23/20 29/9
mwy	think of	31/3
mnḫ	be beneficent	1/14 2/16
mnk	end	15/18 35/13

mr	love, like, wish, desire	2/4 3/9 5/20 7/11 8/5 9/10.13 13/6 14/22 15/15 16/8.15 17/8 17/12 18/15.21 20/3 25/18.23 26/5.10 27/7 28/11 29/17-18 30/2.9
p3 mryṯ	the beloved	15/20 30/8
mḥ	be concerned	3/20
mḥṯ	dominate	8/3
mḫy	be balanced, even, equal	4/19-21 12/1 29/14
mḫy.t	balance	4/17 5/7
ms in		
'w (n) ms	old	3/12 7/3 17/9.19 33/24
wr (n) ms	wellborn	31/16
sbḳ (n) ms	child	17/22
mt.t in		
mt.t '3.t	greatness	23/21
mt.t n 'ḏ/'ḏ.t	falsehood	24/17 32/15
mt.t bn	evil	10/18 28/17 29/20 30/2 31/3 35/2
mt.t (n) p3 ntr	divinity	4/4 23/25
mt.t (n) pr-'3	royalty	4/4 23/25
mt.t (n) m3'.t	truth, justice	14/16 24/16 31/15 32/15
mt.t nfr.t, mt.t n3-nfr.t	the good, benefaction, happiness, benefit, well-being	2/8 10/9.15 19/15.20 24/13 25/6 26/7 30/3 34/19 35/10
mt.t nḫt/nḫt.t	hardship	19/14 20/13 21/1
mt.t ḫm	smallness	23/22
mtr	teach, instruct be satisfied	5/4 8/21-22 9/6.12.16.18 18/4 20/2 24/6
n'	be merciful, mercy, pity	15/13 16/12 18/10 28/7 29/18 30/13
tm n'	merciless	3/2 35/1
nw	look	2/5.8 7/23 31/19 33/4 34/1-2
nb	lord, owner	4/16.18.22 14/4 15/5.8 19/7 21/23 24/5.16.18 28/3 32/2.13 35/15
nb shn	lord of command	32/2
nb gm3	ruler	4/2 14/14
nfr, n3-nfr	be good	2/1-3.19 5/1.10 6/9 8/5.7 9/19 16/9 17/9 18/22 19/22 20/20 21/10 23/13 25/17
t3 nfr.t	good deed	16/12
nḫm	save	20/22
nḫṯ	trust, fidelity	6/19 11/23 12/2.4.6.8.25 13/1 13/4.9 26/19
nḫṯ, ir nḫṯ	be hard, harsh, heavy, strong, protect	3/22 5/2-3.6 19/21-22 20/6 22/10 23/14 24/3 27/14 28/3 29/8 33/15

nḫṯ(.t)	protection	2/24 9/21-22 10/1.5-7 11/13.16 11/18 12/2 18/15 28/8
'wy n nḫṯ.t	asylum	10/6
rwš	care, worry, concern	2/10 9/23 10/19 14/6-7 15/19-20 19/4.6-8 20/7.14 21/4 24/23 25/24 26/10 32/11 34/16 35/6
rmt ỉn		
rmt ỉ3	great/rich man	15/3 23/22 27/19 28/23
rmt 'š3y	common man	32/16
rmt 'ḏ	deceitful man	25/22
rmt bn	bad/evil man	3/2 12/3.10 13/5 14/22 16/19 20/2 21/11 23/15 26/7 30/2.11.24
rmt n m3'.t	true man	12/16
rmt nfr	good man	2/19 16/9
rmt nhy	inferior man	18/18
rmt nḫṯ	trustworthy man	12/17
rmt (n) ntr	man of god, pious man	2/11 5/8 15/2 18/3.5.12.16.18 19/12 20/5.23 21/2 28/3 30/10.12 31/4 33/12
rmt rḫ	wise man	2/10.23 3/19 4/19 5/3.5.15-17 6/8 7/11.15 8/17 9/7.14.23 10/1-10/3 12/7.13.15.23 13/19 14/1.19 15/10 16/18 17/7.18 19/9 21/5.9 22/1.3.8.13 23/7.12.23 25/11 26/8.19.22.24 27/18 28/3.8.24 29/3.5 30/19 34/12-13 35/11
rmt ḫm	inferior man	14/3.8-9 15/1-2.4 26/1.3 29/13
rmt swg	stupid man, fool	4/5 7/9 10/5 12/5 13/12.17.21.23 14/5.10.17 22/23 32/16
rmt (n) tmy	townsman	29/7 32/21
rmt ḏr	strong man	27/8
rn.t (rnn.t)	wealth	4/8 5/15 6/10 7/14.17 8/8 15/10 15/11.22 16/12 17/2 19/3 24/20 32/15
rhn.t	support	19/12
rḫ	know, find out be able	4/8.20 7/8.14 8/3 9/16-17 11/3-4 11/10.23 17/20.23 18/11.18.22 20/10 25/18 27/2 28/6.8 29/7 30/8.18 31/4-5.17.23 32/18.22 35/2
rḫw	wisdom	4/19 5/4
tm rḫ	ignorant	3/3
rsy, ỉr rsy	watch, wakeful	31/10 32/11 33/21
rsyṯ	the morrow, tomorrow	7/6 15/16 17/6 19/4 21/3
l'l'	admire	25/8
ls	tongue	3/6 4/5 12/5.24 21/14 22/10.20 25/21 26/22 29/16 30/19-20 31/5
'w n ls	loud-mouthed	33/14

lg	cease, end, remove	14/16 15/13.20 16/10 24/3.19 26/13 32/11-12 35/6
he, ir he	spend, expense	6/24 7/16.18 16/5 26/18
hwrt (ἑορτή)	feast	23/9
hp	law, punishment	14/16 20/11 31/15
n p3 hp	lawful	7/9 14/12 28/11
n tm hp	lawless	26/23 29/19
hmy (ḥmy)	steering	20/20 21/10 30/13.20
hr	be content	16/3.14
hrw, ḥr hrw	day, today, daily	15/19 17/7 19/11 20/12.14 22/16 32/2
hrw nfr	holiday	18/20
hrš (ḥrš)	heavy, steadfast, persevering	9/3 19/14 21/3 23/16 34/4
ḥ3t	heart	2/3 4/13.18.23 5/3.7-8.20 6/8 7/21 8/3 9/13.19 10/20 11/2.10 11/23 12/8.14-22 13/2 14/6 15/5 15/13.20 16/3.14 17/5.12.14-15 18/2.23 19/7-8.10-11.16.23 20/4 20/7.14 21/5.13-14 22/18 23/23 24/22.24 25/16.18.21-22 26/12 26/22 27/13 28/24 29/3.13 30/2 30/7.13.18-21 31/1.4.11.17 33/21 35/2.8.11-12
'w-ḥ3t	arrogant	3/10 4/13
'w-n-ḥ3t	patient, patience	2/19 10/15-16 18/16 21/9
pke-ḥ3t	⌜chatterer⌝	22/22
ḫy-ḥ3t	pride	4/22
ḫm-ḥ3t	impatient	19/11 21/16.18.23 22/12 27/5 30/5 34/3
th3-ḥ3t	heart-sore, affliction	17/5 19/16.23 20/4 32/12
ḫw3	profit, plenty excess, surplus	4/7.14 5/22 6/8 7/7 26/16
ḥn	command, direct, decree	2/3 5/10 8/20 10/22 11/21 15/6 17/2 19/5 22/2 23/18 31/1.6.11 31/18 33/3 34/21
ḥr in		
ir ḥr	appear	25/20 30/21
ḫy n ḥr	arrogant, arrogance	4/22 27/17 33/13
ḏr ḥr	insolent	3/3 6/20 12/9 26/5
ḥry	master	10/12 11/17-18 12/21 14/11.15 20/18 21/22 22/18 27/7 31/17
ḥry	mastery	8/4
ḥry	the upper, the peak	17/21
ḥr, ḥrḥ	guard	5/15 7/12 25/11 31/14 33/7
ḥs.t	praise	5/17 8/9 9/23 13/19 16/20 22/8 22/14 23/12 27/20 29/5
ḥsy n ḥ3t	pleasing to	8/15

ḫtp	rest, peace contentment be reconciled	2/11 11/11 19/19 29/17 30/12 34/23 35/1.5
ḫ3' in ḫ3' r wy ḫ3' ḫr	withhold rely on	10/10 35/8
ḫy/n3-ḫy	be high, exalted	34/3
ḫbr	associate	5/12
ḫpyr,ḫpry.t	wonder	9/12 26/8 31/9 32/4
ḫrw	voice, word, command	3/11 8/7 10/16 22/10-11.21 23/2 25/18 26/18.20 28/4 34/18
ḫl	youth	8/14 9/8
sy	be sated, satis- fied, satiety	2/4 6/12-14 7/7 15/17 27/10 28/1 29/19 33/11 34/20
syt nfr	good repute	16/9
sw	guard	21/14
swn	know, recognize	4/23 5/8
sb'.t/sb3.t	teaching, instruction	5/12 7/20 8/3.21.23-24 9/16-18 9/21 13/8 14/9 17/23 19/6 21/7 22/7 25/14 27/22 29/12 30/17 33/6
sby	laugh, laughter	26/1 27/5 28/21
sbḫ	plead, beg	11/11 35/4
sbḳ	be little, rare humble, short	6/7 7/13 12/23 14/4 17/19 24/22 25/8 28/1 34/23
sbt	choose	9/3
sp	chance, manner, deed	4/12 22/4 23/7 32/24
sp bn sp nfr	evil deed good deed, virtue	10/23 5/16 32/24
sf	yesterday	20/12
sm	bless, blessing	5/9 8/23 11/24 12/2.4 14/12 16/21 18/4 23/6 27/9 34/18
smn	settle	14/4
sny	pass, pass by, let pass	2/6 13/20 17/11.20 20/12 21/21 34/23
ty sny	let pass	14/21
snṯ	custom, creature	4/10 31/24
snte	fear, respect	2/24 8/11 9/8 21/1 23/23 24/1.12 25/1.9.11 33/11 34/1-2
sr	dissolve	34/23
srf	rest	14/10 33/10
sḫm.t	woman, wife	3/9 7/11.21-23 8/4-6.10.14-15 11/5 12/22 17/14-15 18/22 32/20

sḫm.t rmt rḫ.t	wise woman	8/5
sḫn	command, provide	14/19 17/9 32/2
sḫn nfr	good condition	8/7 10/19
wʒḫ sḫn	command	15/1
sḫy <u>in</u> ir sḫy	be powerful, have power, rule	4/2 5/14 6/17 11/18 14/3.14 14/15.19 22/9 30/3 33/9.23 34/18
sḫne, ir sḫne	happen, meet, consort with	5/14 8/17 13/21
sḫne	disposition, constellation	11/10 32/5
sḫne	fortune	2/20 5/11 7/19 8/20 9/20 11/21 13/7 14/2 15/6 17/3 19/5 20/3 20/16 21/6 22/6 23/19 25/13 27/21 29/11 30/16 31/18 32/22 33/6 34/18
sḫn	⌜beseech⌝	18/19
ssw	day, time	2/7.13 10/15 12/12.20.22 16/21 17/19 18/6.16 21/2 22/1 24/3 34/16
n pʒ ssw	timely	18/23
sḳ, sḳw	gather, hoard, save, savings	4/9 5/16 6/10 7/13.15 17/1.8 18/1.7.13-14.17-18 19/2
sḳ-ḥr	dignitary	3/13
sgrḫ/srgḫ	stop, calm	22/7 23/7-10.12.15-16.18 24/21
gy n sgrḫ	quietude	10/3
stʒ	draw back, turn away, return	19/19 20/8.21 21/17 26/23 28/14 29/4 30/6
stny/sḏne/sḏyn	consult, counsel, take counsel	3/10 11/6 12/16.18 14/18 18/2 21/8-9.12 22/2-3.5.19-20 25/21.23 31/12 32/23 33/5 34/13
sḏyḫ	joke	11/20 28/21 30/21
šʒy/šy	fate	2/19-20 4/7.12.23 5/1.4.11 7/14.19 11/21 13/7 14/2 15/6 15/21 17/3 18/4.6 19/5.14-15 19/20.22 20/2 21/4.6 22/6 23/19 25/13 27/21 29/11 30/16 33/6 34/1.6.14
š'r	value	27/5 31/13
š'š'	praise	23/3
šw, ir šw	be suitable, worthy	6/4 8/13 9/14 25/7-8
šb, šb.t	differ, alter, exchange, equal	4/10 6/10 8/3 16/20 25/21 26/18
šp	gift, reward	3/19 10/10 11/12 13/4 18/16 34/19

šp	moment	15/16
špy/šyp	be ashamed, shame, shamelessness	3/3 6/19 9/8.11.23 11/8 13/4 15/13 25/18
tm špy/šyp	shameless	6/22 7/10 27/3
špšy.t in ir špšy.t	have respect	8/13
špšy.t	good demon/fortune	8/19
šm-iy	go-and-come, go about, frequent	3/15 8/20 11/21 13/10-11 15/6 19/5.14 22/6 29/3-4.10 31/20 31/21 32/10 33/4
šm-nfr	good news	24/24
šm-sny	walk along	33/24
šm tr.t ty šm tr.t	extend hand undertake	14/21 26/3 27/10
šm'	stranger	28/5.17-18.22
šms	serve, service, servant	9/22 10/1-4.9.11 11/14 24/19
šn	ask, question, utterance	8/23 10/8 11/1.3.8.17 22/12 22/20 25/21 27/1 31/5
šrl	people	12/6
šrl	shout	17/16
šrl (šll)	beg, pray, prayer	12/19 16/17 17/10 18/20 23/1 26/14 28/15
šgg in ir šgyg	crave	5/21
šty	remove	29/15
ḳty	go around, roam, wander	28/2.9.11-13 33/3
n ḳty.f	around him	16/8 25/17
gy in gy n iy	manner of coming	20/23
gy n wnm	manner of eating	17/13
gy n lg	recovery	24/3
gy n 'nḫ see 'nḫ		
gy n sgrḥ see sgrḥ		
gyl	abroad	28/23
g' (gr)	be silent,silence	3/7 23/5 27/6.13 33/14
gm	find, discover, know, understand	6/9 7/15 10/6 11/11 12/14-24 13/13 16/8.14-15 17/18.22 21/11 22/3 26/22 28/9.11 29/16 30/2 30/13-14 31/1 32/23 33/21
gm/gm3, gmt.t	power, might	16/6 22/9.23 33/22
iwt gmt.t	powerless	11/19
nb gm3 see nb		

gnn	gentle, gentleness	5/1 22/8 23/13 27/16 33/12
grp	uncover, reveal	8/4 21/15 22/13.18 23/1 33/18
t3	time, moment	3/7 10/12.22 11/1.8 12/25 17/14 22/12.17 24/4 26/3
tyky	convey	16/9
tw3	morning	29/1
twt	join, control	5/13.17 6/8.17 14/18 18/21
twt	enjoy	3/5
tb3	requite, requital, recompense, retaliation	2/18 10/17 16/18 24/6 30/23 33/3-4.7.9-11.21 34/2-3.17 34/21 35/11
s.t tb3	state of retaliation	34/13
tbḥ	ask for, beg	17/7.19 26/2.7 31/17 33/16
tn	judgment	21/13 26/9
t3y tn	determine, determination	2/18 9/20 13/7 14/2 17/3 22/2 25/13 31/12
tny.t	portion, share	2/23 8/12.23 13/5 16/4 17/10 19/1.3 23/4-5 28/12 30/4 33/7
tkn	be quick	3/18 34/14
tkr	be swift, hasten	22/9 25/5 33/17
tktk	hasten, haste, be quick	3/21 4/2 30/14
t3y in		
t3y iy	send	2/20 5/11 7/19 21/6 23/19 27/21 29/11 30/16 33/6
t3y myt	show the way	3/12 14/1 32/13
t3y rt	grip	23/17
t3y tn see tn		
dnf	be measured, moderate, right measure	2/22 3/19 4/14-18 6/15-16 14/4
dnt	test, examine, questioner	12/15.23 13/2 18/22 22/1 26/4
dr, n3-dr	be strong, overpower	3/18 7/4 11/20 12/9 27/8 34/10
dr-tr.t	brutality	3/5 23/24
dr-ḥr see ḥr		
dk	be perfect	12/23
ddy	course	19/23
(spelled d3d3)		

III. The Anthropological Vocabulary: Negative Terms

3byn	poor	31/17
3bḫ	forget	2/9 3/18 4/12 7/6 8/14 11/1 19/10 20/11 28/22 33/10
3h	be wretched, grief, trouble	3/23 4/20 13/9.21 14/17 21/13 24/17
3h (3ḥ), 3hy	quarrel, fight, strife, unrest	4/2 13/17 15/12 23/17-18 27/13 34/8
3sk (isḳ)	lag, give up	21/2.19 33/19
3k, ir 3k	be ruined, lost, spoiled, loss	3/14 9/1.10 10/10.22 12/13 13/23 14/20 17/21 20/1 29/22-23
ty 3k	spoil, injure	9/10 23/25 24/16
3t, 3yṯ	need, want	9/21 12/19 27/3 35/1
3ḏ	thief	13/9.18
iwe.t	suffering, torment	31/7 32/14
yb3.t	illness	28/3
'f'	greed, greedy, avarice	4/8 5/16 15/7-9.11-15.18 16/16 17/1 19/4 25/15
'ss.t, ir 'ss.t	harm, ruin, do harm	4/13.22 6/6 8/2 12/5 13/14-15 22/11
'ḏ/3ḏ, 'ḏy	be false, slander, falsehood	13/6 22/21 25/22 27/6 28/19
ty 'ḏ	slander	27/12
mt.t 'ḏ	falsehood	24/17 32/15
'ḏn	destroyer	34/17
w'	curse	12/8 28/21
wr3.t	bad demon/bad fortune	8/19
why, whyṯ	do wrong, sin, be evil, evil-doing, crime	2/7.17 3/2 13/14 16/17 26/14 29/18
b'/b'.t	wrath	
'w n b'	wrathful	5/2
ḫm b'	small of wrath	9/23 33/23
bw3	blame, dislike, resentment, wrong, harm	2/15 7/22 8/12.24 15/18 16/10 19/1.21 20/15 21/1.10 24/5 25/5 25/9 30/20
bn/bne	bad, evil	6/1 8/10 14/15 23/14 26/13 29/6 29/15 34/9

mt.t bn see mt.t
rmt bn see rmt
sp bn see sp
} Table II

bš	abandon	23/10 27/23
bty.t in ir bty.t	despise	11/10 28/20
btw, ir btw	crime, wrong, harm, grief, punishment, do harm, punish	6/7 7/8.11.21 9/7-9 12/3 13/11 13/22 14/12.14 18/8.11.17 20/11 21/12 23/2.6.21-22 25/9 25/12 26/23 27/6 28/11.22 29/6.19-20 30/11 34/2.4
mwḫ	burn	6/16 29/12.20-22 30/10.14 34/22 35/2
mwḫmḫ	burn	18/10
mwt, ir mwt	die, be dying, dead, the dead, death	2/7.12 4/9 5/2 6/23 7/1 9/9 13/12 16/17.19 17/6.22 18/6 19/2.8.10.18-19 20/6-8.10.21 22/9 25/5 26/7-8 28/2-4.7 32/14 33/8.17 34/5
mny	landing=death	5/23
mḫl	combat	15/12 23/8 24/14
mst	hate, dislike, hatred	5/22 10/12 24/19 26/12-13 28/10
ndsy.t in ir ndsy.t	misbehave	8/16
rwrw	roam	29/17
rl	complaint	22/23
rh	anxiety	19/15
lyb	rave	4/11
l'	destruction	11/16
lwḫ	fault, offense	11/11 14/21 34/19.23 35/4
lḫ	fool	2/18 3/4.23 4/20 5/6.13-14.18 6/1.19 7/6.21.23 8/12.16.22 9/15 10/4 12/4.9.11.24 13/10-11 13/13-14.16.20 14/6-7.13.18.21 18/21 19/13 21/18 22/4.9 23/4 23/17.21 25/12 26/1 27/12.15 28/2.8.12 29/6.17 30/21-22 34/10.12
hyyṯ.t	trouble	19/13 20/20 30/5
hwš, ir hwš in hwš	annoy, offend get abuse	4/16 10/11 21/8 22/4 28/21 10/9
hbr	torment	3/5 11/17.19 16/5 23/1 33/15
ḫyt, hyt3	fear, frightfulness	6/2 25/24
ḫw3	bad	34/12
ḫwr'	rob, deprive	17/8.17

ḫb	grief	20/20
ḫpḫp	stricken	19/10
ḫnwḫ.t	fear, anxiety	12/18 20/21.23 28/16 31/9
ḫrr, ḫl'l'	delay, tarry	3/21 10/22
ḫ'r	rage, be angry, anger	3/1.24 4/4 10/20 14/13 21/17 22/12 24/7 34/4
ḫnšṯ.t, ir ḥnšṯ.t	stench, bad odor, stink, make stench	5/18 9/2 10/13 13/20 15/7 25/19 27/17
ḫl	squander	4/6
ḫsf	fault, blame reproach	6/22 7/10.12 8/10 9/1.5 10/18 11/7 17/16 18/22 25/15 26/17
ḫ.t in 'w-ḫ.t	glutton, gluttony	3/4 5/12-13.18.23 6/19.22 7/10
ḫb	cheat	11/23
ḫft.t	hostility	4/4
ḫne	fool, idiot, stupidity	3/7 4/5.11 9/6 10/18 12/12-13 13/3 14/23 21/12.19-20.22 22/4 23/16 26/4.9.13
ir ḫnyn/ snyn	be disturbed, distraught	6/15 19/6
ḫlf	fault, blame	2/25 5/2 27/20
ḫs, ḫsy	weary, weariness	3/8 8/21 32/11
ḫtb	kill, thrash, deadly	14/5 15/9 23/21 24/21 29/14 32/23 33/2
s3b3, ir s3b3	enemy, impious man, sinner, impiety, enmity, fury, be hostile	4/9.13 5/8 11/16 13/5.15 14/14 15/1.19 17/17 18/5 19/10.13 20/3.17 21/11 23/24 28/5.9-10 29/10.18 30/9.23 31/3.7.18 32/14 33/11 34/11 35/12
s'ḥ'	accuse, reprove, reproof	3/1 9/4 11/7-8 26/10
swḫ/swḥe	curse	2/15 5/9 8/12 9/15 30/14 34/15
swg/sg	fool, stupid, stupidity	3/8 14/3.13 15/4.17
rmt swg see rmt (Table II)		
smy	accusation, complaint	10/8.14 22/22
sḫyḫ, syḫsyḫ	beating	13/18 18/11
sḫ, sḫy, sḫy.t	blow, sting, wound, stupor, bitterness	6/13 18/9 20/7 29/16 31/6
syḫt	hinder	26/9
sḫm	destroy	25/4

sš	scorn, insult	9/8 23/6 25/18-19 26/2-3.11 27/15-16 28/8
sšr	fiend, demon	3/15 9/11 12/7.9 24/11 28/5
sgn	be avaricious	17/1.20
stb	misfortune, need	7/5 19/9.11-12.18 20/19 21/2 21/5 30/12
šbn in p3 tm šbny	discord	14/20
šft.t, ir šft.t	poverty, be poor, miserable	5/12.19 6/17 7/13.16.18 17/2 17/18 32/15
šny	be ill, illness, ailment	6/11-12.14.16 18/23 19/7 22/11 24/2-3 32/12
ḳby	be vengeful, brutal, violent, vengeance, brutality	3/20.23 4/1 19/22 22/16 27/7 27/13.15 33/8-9 35/3
ḳns	force, violence, harm, violent, wrongful	6/11 10/6 28/2 33/4.8.19 35/1
krf	cunning, deceit	11/23 12/3.5.7 13/6 25/12
krš/ḳrš	flatter, insult	3/9.12 26/5 35/1
gw3, gw3.t	be narrow, straits	20/21 26/6
gby	be weak, feeble, poor, weakness, feebleness	17/10 19/16-17.21 20/17 33/12-15 34/1
gm'	alter	18/5
grt	knife=punishment	7/9
gl'	cheat	26/18 27/1
th/th3, ir th	suffer, injure, harm, vexation	6/12 20/12 23/20 30/5.10 33/20 34/16-17.22 35/3
ḫy-thyt.t	disturbance, harm	8/1 15/14
tḫtḫ	disturbance	14/17
ḏ'	wrongful	28/11
ḏw3.t	crime, wrong	5/23 28/19 29/2
ḏwy, ḏwy.t	steal, theft	13/18 15/9 27/2
ḏf	burn	13/16 15/8
ḏm'	be lazy	25/24
ḏlḥ	slight, scorn	10/17 23/20-22.25 24/2.4.6 25/10.14 34/3
ḏhmy	defile	21/16
ḏḏy	enemy, enmity	10/19 12/8 21/14 26/4

7. Summary and Outlook

If the foregoing chapters have succeeded in establishing the Instructions of Ankhsheshonqy, of PInsinger, and of the minor and fragmentary sapiential texts, in the context of the gnomologia of the Hellenistic age, it will be suitable to cast a glance at what lay in the future. There looms, first of all, the bulky late-Demotic Tefnut Legend, representing wisdom literature in the wider sense, being a frame narration enclosing gnomic speeches, fables, and songs. Through its fables in particular the work links up with international wisdom. But since this study is limited to Instructions we pass it by.

It has been emphasized that in PInsinger the aphoristic monostich was made to serve integrated themes. By thus forcing it to the limit of its possibility, the composition had reached a point beyond which, for the sake of yet greater coherence, the asyndetic monostich would be replaced by interconnected prose sentences. For Egypt, the resulting prose homily would be a new genre in the new context of Coptic literature.

We have also seen that the Wisdom of Ben Sira is PInsinger's closest contemporary and counterpart in Jewish sapiential literature owing to a far-reaching congruence in points of view, type of piety, and themes. In its literary form Ben Sira was frankly eclectic, combining individual sayings of the traditional binary sort with integrated speeches, hymns, prayers, and other. The use of hymns to the deity - one in PInsinger, several in Ben Sira - is also a significant correspondence; yet another is the self-presentation of the author. Within Egyptian Instructions the self-presentation of the author speaking in the first person is, so far, unique and is one more hint of the author's acquaintance with Hellenistic models. One major difference between the two works is Ben Sira's explicit nationalism, voiced in the praises of the heroes of Israel's past. Expressions of national self-consciousness had not been prominent in Egyptian literature. But here too Demotic literature was innovating in voicing a somewhat comparable self-view

not in the Instructions but in such works as the Demotic Chronicle.

Though copied and studied by schoolboys, Egyptian Instructions had not been products of the schools. They were the works of individual adults addressed primarily to young adults. If PInsinger differs in any sense from the traditional relationship to an adult public, it is through an increased privacy in its tone of voice: the work reads like a manual of self-instruction.

Both PInsinger and Ben Sira had reworked traditional sapiential topics in a modern spirit, one which reveals acquaintance with the international culture of Hellenism. Ben Sira's knowledge of Hellenistic culture is beyond dispute; only its extent and the attitude in which he responded to Hellenism have been variously interpreted.[149] In their own time, Egyptian writers were probably not as consistently secretive about their sources as they now appear to us. In any case, by drawing so freely on international wisdom the Demotic writers have unwittingly allowed us glimpses into their workshops and into their knowledge of the foreign cultures which were now established in their midst.

Ankhsheshonqy accepted international topoi and proverbs for their earthiness, liveliness, and pith, and combined them with native sayings and his own inventions in a spirit of pragmatic morality, leavened by a satirical wit and a pinch of cynicism. His outlook is sturdily positive and social: a man should work and gain and prosper. He should raise a family and enjoy his life. Women could be classed as "good" or "bad," and there was the average wife: she was likely to be fickle and greedy, but she showed her worth when she became a mother. And more than a wife, a man's mother deserved love and respect. Sons should be well taught and daughters suitably married. In the wider social circle there were superiors, neighbors, friends,

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149 Compare the judiciously cautious appraisal of Hengel, Judentum und Hellenismus, 241ff. with the big claims of Th. Middendorp, Die Stellung Jesu ben Siras zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus, Leiden 1973.

strangers, merchants, thieves, whores, and the poor, all to be treated appropriately, which meant with either prudence or benevolence.

If such a view of life may be thought to have been representative of Egyptian moral thought at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, it was a view which, despite its modern manner, owed even more to the past than to the present; for the present was a time of change and ferment. PInsinger reveals a drastically altered outlook. The later writer holds a view in which the social context has shrunk in range and significance. Human relations as such are no longer a man's central concern. What matters now is to achieve the state of "wise man," and dealings with other people are measured in terms of attaining this goal and avoiding its opposite, the state of being a "fool." The relation to parents calls for the application of certain virtues. Women are now merely the objects of foolish concupiscence or wise restraint. Sons must be firmly taught and disciplined. Daughters are not mentioned. To masters a man owes loyalty and respect. Strangers and the poor call for generosity and pity. From all this, the human warmth, vitality, spontaneity, and wit, which characterized Ankhsheshonqy's approach to his fellow human beings, is largely absent. The focus is on the model figure of the wise man who lives in quietude; who meets other people with calm restraint, with gentleness, generosity - and distrust; who accepts misfortunes with patience and hope, for he trusts in God. Spiritual brother of the Stoic sage, he is self-sufficient rather than companionable, and his way is the "way of God."

Both PInsinger and Ben Sira reflect a time of transition. By fusing morality with piety they completed a long development of sapiential thought and stood on the threshhold of major changes. But they did not cross the threshhold. Unaffected by the Platonic division of man into body, soul, and spirit they taught a monistic ethic in which reason guided by piety produced the right choices. The future trends, the moves into dualism, salvationism, apocalyptic vision, and eschatology, so amply documented by the Apocrypha and the writings from Qumran, are not found in the few Demotic works of the first Roman cen-

turies presently known, though a claim to traces of Hermeticism has been made.[150] There is a gap here which only additional sources might fill. The following remarks are an attempt to build a slender bridge over the gap, so as to lead from Demotic wisdom as represented by PInsinger to the scant specimens of sapiential thinking found in early Coptic literature (leaving aside the Apophthegmata Patrum whose literary models were Greek).

Shortly after fragments of a Coptic translation of the Greek Sententiae Menandri had come to light, which its editors could then still claim to be the sole representative of a Greek gnomologium in Coptic translation,[151] a fragmentary Coptic translation of the Greek Sentences of Sextus became known by the publication of Codex XII of the Nag Hammadi Codices.[152] We have had occasion to cite sententiae from both works; a few words should now be added to relate the works as a whole to Demotic wisdom.

Built up from a core of genuine Menander sayings, the Sententiae Menandri grew into a large florilegium of iambic monostichs, which eventually could be organized only by an alphabetic arrangement. Except for some Christian additions, it dispensed a secular, rational, and pragmatic morality of the popular Hellenistic sort, much of it proverbial and often elegantly phrased. In its eclecticism it was a rich hoard from which anyone could draw suitable citations to illustrate aspects of the human condition, provided he still adhered to a humanistic morality which accepted the world and man's place in it as the work of a benign, if unknown, creator. We have cited from it sententiae that parallel sayings in Ankhsheshonqy and PInsinger, and many more could be added.

In the Sentences of Sextus, on the other hand, the pre-Christian, neo-Pythagorean Platonic-Stoic core is so clearly

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150 By E.A.E. Reymond, From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings II (MPON n.s. XI) Vienna 1977.

151 Hagedorn/Weber, ZPE 3 (1968) 15-50.

152 The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices 3 (1973) XII,1 & The Nag Hammadi Library in English, 454-459.

dualistic and ascetic as to mark the crossing of the threshhold on which PInsinger had stood. That difference notwithstanding, the congruence between PInsinger and Sextus is considerable. There is the same thinning out of sapiential topics as they concern human relations and wordly pursuits, and the same concentration on the model figure of the wise man who walks with God, with that difference that what is incipient in PInsinger has been carried forward. In terms of form, Sextus is a short work with much less organization than PInsinger. Demotic wisdom could, and probably did, draw on Stoic ethics, because it could equate the Stoic terms for "reason" with the Egyptian word for "heart." But to make the move to a dualistic view of man, Egyptian thought would have had to acquire the concept of "soul" (psyche). The absence of this concept marks the difference between PInsinger and Sextus, and between all Demotic wisdom presently known and that late-Hellenistic Greek wisdom which lent itself to Christian adaptation. With that distinction, the two works cover much the same ground and share many individual thoughts. A few citations will bring out the similarity in form, thought, and subject matter:

1) Sextus 9-10:
Down to the smallest matters live conscientiously.
For in life it is not little to disregard the little.

Compare PInsinger's chapter 20 and see above p. 163.

2) Sextus 15:
What you have of worldly things, if taken from you do not grieve.

Compare Ins. 27/9:
When a wise man is stripped, he gives his clothes and blesses.

3) Sextus 39:
The evil man, after release from the body, is punished by an evil demon until he has yielded the last penny.
Compare Ins. 18/8:
The chief demon is the first to punish him (the evil man) after the taking of the breath.

4) Sextus 42 & 56:
Esteem what is best, so that you may governed by what is best.
Understand the good in order to do the good.

Compare Ins. 30/3:
He who thinks of the good is one who masters it.

5) Sextus 46a & 61:
The mind of the pious man is the holy temple of god.
A good mind is the seat of god.

Compare Ins. 30/19:
Heart and tongue of the wise man, the greatness of their dwelling-place is being that of the god.

6) Sextus 62:
An evil mind is the seat of evil.

Compare Ins. 30/2:
The evil man whose heart loves evil will find it.

7) Sextus 63:
To prevent the evildoer from doing evil is to punish him in accordance with god.

Compare Ins. 14/12-13:
The god blesses him who punishes lawfully.
And he is angered if the fool is left to his stupidity.

8) Sextus 151:
Let your tongue follow your reason.

Compare Ins. 26/22:
What is in the heart of the wise man is what one finds on his tongue.

9) Sextus 57a & 66:
Man's thinking is not hidden from god.
From god you cannot conceal doing wrong, nor even thinking it.

Compare Ins. 5/8 & 31/3-4:
He (god) knows the impious and the pious man by his heart.

He knows the impious man who thinks of evil.
He knows the man of god and that he has the greatness of the god in his heart.

10) Sextus 254 & 256:
Children who live badly should grieve you more than that none are alive.
Faithless children are no children.

Compare Ins. 9/12-14 (and see above pp. 158-160):
The son who is not taught, his <...> causes wonder.
The heart of the father does not desire a long life (for him).
The wise one among the children is worthy of life.

11) Sextus 52, 267, 379 & 382 (see also 266 & 330):
If you are generous to the needy you may be great before god.
It is good even to fast for the sake of feeding the beggar.
If one gives food to the needy with one's whole soul, though the gift be small, the willingness is great with god.
God needs nothing from anyone, but he rejoices over those who give to the needy.

Compare Ins. 16/3-4.11-13 (see also 16/14-15):
The heart of the god is content when the poor man is sated before him.
If property accrues to you give a portion to the god; that is the portion of the poor.
The god gives a thousandfold to him who gives to another.
The god lets one acquire wealth on account of doing the good deed of mercy.
He who gives food to the poor, the god credits it to him for an offering of millions.

12) Sextus 312:
The evil man does not desire the existence of god's foresight.
Compare Ins. 31/18:
The impious man does not say "there is god" in the fortune which he decrees.

13) Sextus 86a, 108a & 345:
The foundation of piety is abstinence.
Abundant foods impede chastity.
It is better to die of hunger than to darken the soul by the incontinence of the belly.

Compare Ins. 30/1 & 27/3 (and see above pp.164 & 167):
It is because of many foods that firmness is good.
Better death in want than life in shamelessness.

Given the wholesale destruction of ancient writings, it is remarkable how closely one of the few survivors of Greek gnomologia - the Sentences of Sextus - resembles PInsinger in spirit and subject matter. This is not to claim any direct connection between the two works. But just as Ankhsheshonqy's use of Aramaic and other non-Egyptian gnomic sources will have become evident, so for PInsinger works of Hellenistic gnomologia primarily in Greek should be thought of as having been sources of inspiration and models of composition.

The Coptic translations of the Sententiae Menandri and the Sentences of Sextus impressively illustrate the survival of aphoristic wisdom in Christian Egypt. But they were no more than marginal products, for the center was now occupied by the new genres of tractate and sermon. The drastically changed values of the new teachings, be they Gnostic or Christian, required stricter forms than the loosely shaped gnomologia. Nor could wisdom in its original humanistic sense flourish under the otherworldly, ascetic, and eschatological dispensation.[153]

The marginal place of wisdom literature in the Christian context is tellingly demonstrated by the third specimen of translated wisdom which has recently been identified: the sapiential piece in the Teachings of Silvanus - Nag Hammadi Codex VII,4 - whose separate origin has now been established by the duplicate version, ascribed to Apa Antonius, which was dis-

153 On the continuity and discontinuity of wisdom in the Christian context see the concluding chapter, Christliche Weisheit, jesuanische Weisheit, in Küchler, Weisheitstraditionen, 553ff.

covered by Funk in the British Museum parchment leaf Or.6003= Ant BM 979.[154]

The Teachings of Silvanus has been described as an "early Christian Wisdom text," one that was "presented in the framework of a literary genre which is deeply indebted to classical and especially Hellenized Jewish Wisdom." Furthermore, the work "displays some eclectic tastes, with influences from the Bible, the exegesis of Philo of Alexandria, Middle Platonism, and late Stoicism."[155] Now, when the work as a whole is called a "Christian Wisdom text," the word "wisdom" is made to take on a new sense, as indeed the text itself makes clear:

> "For the tree of life is Christ; he is Wisdom. He is Wisdom, he is also the Word. He is the Life, the Power, and the Door. He is the Light, the Messenger, and the Good Shepherd. ... For since he is Wisdom, he makes the foolish man wise." (NHC VII,4 106.21-107.4)

When wisdom has become God's wisdom rather than that of man, more than two millennia of sapiential thinking have come to an end. But before we write finis, let us glance at that third survivor of old wisdom in the Silvanus section 97.3-98.22 duplicated by the British Museum parchment leaf, where a piece of pre-Christian wisdom has been preserved. In translating it, on the basis of Funk's edition and translation, I have used the Silvanus version as the main text, and have added the verso of Ant BM 979, which is not found in Silvanus.[156]

Silvanus 97.3-98.22 = Ant BM 979a; and Ant BM 979b:

> Put no word of evil in your judgment,
> for every evil man, he harms his heart.
> For a mindless man, he goes by himself to his destruction,
> but a wise man, he knows his way.

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154 W.-P. Funk, Ein doppelt überliefertes Stück spätägyptischer Weisheit, ZÄS 103 (1976) 8-21.

155 The Nag Hammadi Library in English, 346; see also W.R. Schoedel, Jewish Wisdom and the Formation of the Christian Ascetic, in Aspects of Wisdom, ed. R.L. Wilken (1975) 169-199.

156 See also NH Library in English, 352 & Schoedel, 178f.

A mindless man, he does not guard against telling a secret;
a wise man, he does not blurt out every word,
rather will he pay attention to those who hear.
Do not blurt out every word to those whom you do not know.

Have a multitude of friends but not counsellors.
First examine your counsellor,
for anyone who flatters, do not honor him.
Their word is sweet as honey,
but their heart is full of hellebore.
For when they think they have become firm friends,
then in deceit they will turn against you,
and will cast you down in the mire.

Do not entrust yourself to any friend,
for the whole world, it has become deceitful,
and every [man] is troubled in vain.
All things of the world are not profitable,
rather are they an emptiness
No one is a <friend> or a brother,
for each seeks his advantage.
My son, make no man your friend,
but if you gain him, do not give yourself to him.
Give yourself to God alone as father and as friend.

For all men, they walk in deceit.
The whole earth, it is full of suffering and grief,
things in which there is no profit.
If you wish to pass your life quietly, walk with no one.
But if you walk with them, be as if you do not walk.
Be pleasing to God, and you will not need anyone.
Live with Christ, and he will save you.

Do not make many [words],
for then you leave no room for the spirit [of God] in you.
My son, never [strive] after evil nor reject <anyone>.
My son, walk not with the proud, rather walk with the meek.
My son do not stay with hypocrites and liars.
My son, [with the] humble and weak speak not in anger;
rather let <your> word be as wisdom,
and as wisdom your silence.

When one comes across this piece in Silvanus, one is struck by the change in content, tone, and style. One symptom of the change is the sharp drop in the number of Greek words used, a drop which is even more pronounced in the Antonius version. From the combination of semantic identity with lexical variations Funk concluded that the two versions were two independent translations of one and the same unknown wisdom text, presumably a Greek one unless the original was a Coptic text, in which case one of the two versions would have been a "Rückübersetzung."[157] The latter alternative I find difficult to visualize: a Coptic sapiential text translated into Greek and then back into Coptic? Is it not more likely that the original, if it was not Greek, was Demotic? In any case, rather than viewing it as a piece of hellenized Jewish wisdom, as Schoedel did, Funk took it to be essentially Egyptian, and he cited parallel themes from classic Egyptian wisdom, ranging from Ptahhotep to Amenemope, such as the advice to test one's friends, the warning against false and careless speech, and especially the recurring tones of pessimism and distrust.

I would like to suggest that the parallels adduced from Egyptian wisdom of the Middle and New Kingdoms are not really pertinent, because those ancient and no longer known texts were based on historical conditions significantly different from those of Graeco-Roman Egypt. But relevant parallels lie close at hand in Demotic wisdom. In the order of their appearance, the Coptic text makes four points: 1) The contrast, in matters of speech, between the foolish/evil man and the wise man. The fool's careless and malicious chatter will do him harm; the wise man weighs his words. 2) Friends should be tested and flatterers recognized as false and dangerous. 3) No man is trustworthy; all are deceitful and care only for their own advantage. Life is suffering and vanity. 4) You should associate only with the humble and practice right speech and right silence.

If much of this evokes Proverbs, Qohelet, and Ben Sira, as Schoedel suggested, all of it is found in PInsinger, with just

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157 Funk, op. cit. 16

the one difference that, subsequent to the time of PInsinger, the general pessimism had deepened. 1) The first of the four points is so prominent in PInsinger that we need say no more about it. 2) To the theme that men cannot be known and trusted until they have been tested PInsinger devoted the whole of the Twelfth Chapter. 3) The sweeping denigration of life belongs to that final stage of wisdom thinking of which PInsinger gave a foretaste in the saying, "Violence, want, insult, unkindness, they never, never rest" (Ins. 35/1, see above pp. 165-166). It is of course also a feature of late biblical wisdom - incipient in Ben Sira and prominent in the Sapientia Salomonis. 4) Lastly, the topos "right speech/right silence" was common to all.

Having emphasized that Demotic wisdom shared in the international currents of its time, it would be inconsistent to propose now that the original of this Coptic wisdom text must have been written in Demotic. The point to made is rather that Demotic wisdom, hitherto neglected, should be taken into account. And I think, as Funk did, that the piece is essentially Egyptian, rather than primarily Hellenistic-Jewish. It could have been assembled by a Coptic scribe from sayings orally transmitted in the native tongue; and supplying Christian overtones, and without the interposition of a Greek version, he could have written it up as a sequence by adding the few Greek particles and substituting some Greek words - just four in the Antonius version - to replace Egyptian words that were acquiring new meanings or going out of use.[158]

Inevitably, such survivals of ancient wisdom were now marginal, for the Christian transvaluation of values had deprived all classic wisdom of its raison d'être:

> "If one among you thinks that he is wise in this age, let him become a fool that he may become wise. For the wisdom of this world is folly with God." (1 Cor 3:18-19)

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158 The four Greek words in the Antonius version are: sophos, mysterion, kosmos, and politheuestai; sophos would have been substituted for rmṯ rḫ because rm-raš had narrowed to the meaning of "mild, gentle person."

In the western world, aphoristic wisdom did not flourish again until the Renaisssance, when "multum in parvo" was once more a challenge and an inspiration to its men of letters, who could enter into the spirit of the aphorism of Epicurus:

Δεῖ διαλαβεῖν ὅτι καὶ ὁ πολὺς λόγος καὶ ὁ βραχὺς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συντείνει

"One must grasp that a long and a short discourse aim at the same thing."[159]

Since the Renaissance, whether sophisticated or homespun, satiric, fervent, or benign, aphoristic wisdom continues its ebb and flow.

"All theory is against the freedom of the will; all experience for it." (Samuel Johnson)[160]

"Es wäre nicht der Mühe werth, siebzig Jahr alt zu werden, wenn alle Weisheit der Welt Thorheit wäre vor Gott." (Goethe)[161]

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159 Fragmenta Epicurea, Gnomologium Vaticanum no. 26 (C. Bailey, Epicurus, Oxford 1926, 108).

160 J. Boswell, Life of Johnson, Aetat. 69, 15 April 1778.

161 Goethe, Maximen und Reflexionen, 618.

8. The Instruction of Papyrus Insinger: Translation

[The Sixth Instruction][162]

(2,1) Good food in its time and its ------.
(2) Good sleep at the time of feebleness ------ because of it.
(3) ⌜Weigh his wish with good nature⌝; do not --- what he commands.
(4) Do not eat to satiety of what you love at [the time when] he seeks it.
(5) Do not outdo him in dress in the street, so that one looks [more at you than at him].
(6) Do not pass --- ... ---.
(7) Do not wrong him in [his] days of life, for then you are headed [for] death.
(8) Doing good to him who looks to it is better than gold and fine linen.
(9) Do not forget the burial, do not be patient about the [honors] which the god has commanded.
(10) Though the burial is in the hand of the god a wise man concerns himself with it.
(11) The peace of the god for the man of god is his burial and his place of rest.
(12) The renewal of life before the dying (or, the dead) is leaving his name on earth [behind] him.
(13) [The] name and the burial and the time of feebleness ... --- ...
(14) [There is he] who employs his lifetime for the honor of his father ------.
(15) [There is he] who [gets] blame through the cursing of his ------ character.
(16) [He is not] merciful who is beneficent to a son.
(17) Nor is he a sinner who lets hunger ------ nourished him.
(18) Retaliation and --- of the fool are caused by his determination.

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162 The Sixth Instruction continues from the preceding page; on its remnants see the text editions.

(19) The [good] fate of the good man is given him by his own heart.
(20) The fate [and] the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. [Total]: 52.

(21) [The Seventh Instruction]
(22) [The teaching] to be measured[163] in everything, so as to do nothing but what is [fitting].
(23) ------ the wise man of character without a portion of ---.
(24) ------ in the heart of the people [gives] protection and respect.
(25) ------ listen without blame ------.
(3,1) Do not rage against him who reproves you because he reproves you in public.
(2) Do not let yourself be called "the bad man" because of merciless evildoing.
(3) Do not let yourself be called "the insolent one" because of ignorant shamelessness.
(4) Do not <let> yourself be called "fool" because of your thoughtless gluttony.
(5) Do not let yourself be called "who enjoys tormenting" because of brutality.
(6) Do not let yourself be called "the prattler" because your tongue is everywhere.
(7) Do not let yourself be called "idiot" because of silence when it is time to speak.
(8) Do not let <yourself> be called "stupid" because of the weariness which your words cause.
(9) Do not do what you desire with a woman by flattering her.
(10) Do not speak arrogantly when counseling in public.
(11) Do not be free in speaking when a superior listens to your word.
(12) Do not show the way insultingly before one who is old.
(13) Do not sit down before a dignitary.
(14) Do not tie yourself to one [greater] than you and have your life ruined.

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163 For the emendation of dnt to dnf see Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,9-10 & 126.

(15) Do not go about much with the fiend for the sake of his name.
(16) Do not consort with [a woman] who consorts with your superior.
(17) If she is beautiful, keep yourself (lit., your name) distant from her.
(18) Do not forget him who is quick and him who is strong in his work.
(19) In the hand of the wise man reward and the stick are measured.
(20) Do not be concerned about vengeance; do what is before you.
(21) Better the small (deed) of the quick than the large one of him who delays.
(22) Do not make your weight heavy when your balance is weak.
(23) The fool who is vengeful to the wretch is one who falls on the battlefield.
(24) ⌜Do not hurry to fight a master whose stick is quick⌝.[164]
(4,1) [He who] is violent [like] the wind will founder in the storm.
(2) Do not hasten to seek a quarrel with a ruler who has power.
(3) He who thrusts his [chest] at the spear will be struck by it.
(4) Do not speak of royalty and divinity with hostility when you are angry.
(5) The foolish tongue of the stupid man is his knife for cutting off a lifetime.
(6) Do not squander the little you have if there is no storehouse behind you.
(7) Do not eat the profit of something before the fate has given it.
(8) Do not be greedy for wealth in a lifetime which you do not know.
(9) The impious man leaves his savings at death and another takes them.

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164 So, with the emendations proposed by Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,13-14.

(10) Do not by yourself adopt a custom that differs from those of the land.
(11) He who raves with the crowd is not called[165] a fool.
(12) Do not say "the chance is good" and forget the fate in it.
(13) The impious man who is arrogant is harmed by his own heart.
(14) The beam that is longer than its right measure, its excess is cut off.
(15) The wind that is greater than its right measure wrecks the ships.
(16) All things that are good through right measure, their owner does not offend.
(17) The great god Thoth has set a balance in order to make right measure on earth by it.
(18) He placed the heart hidden in the flesh for the right measure of its owner.
(19) If a wise man is not balanced[166] his wisdom does not avail.
(20) A fool who does not know balance is not far from trouble.
(21) If a fool is not balanced he cannot live off another.
(22) Arrogance and pride are the ruin of their owner.
(23) He who knows his own heart, the fate knows him.
(5,1) He who is gentle by virtue of his good character makes his own fate.
(2) He who is wrathful about a fault is one whose death will be hard.
(3) There is the man wise of heart whose manner of life is hard.
(4) There is he who is satisfied by fate, there is he who is satisfied by his wisdom.
(5) He is not a man wise in character who lives by it.
(6) He is not a fool as such whose life is hard.
(7) The god lays the heart on the scales opposite the weight.
(8) He knows the impious man and the man of god by his heart.
(9) There is curse or blessing in the character that was given him.

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165 Emending in accordance with Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,15.
166 Emending rḫ to mḥy in 19-21, see Volten, op. cit. II,40.

(10) The commands that the god has commanded to those who are good are in the character.
(11) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 62.

(12) The Eighth Instruction. Do not be a glutton, lest you associate with poverty.
(13) The fool who does not control himself will be in want[167] through gluttony.
(14) The fool who wields power, what happens to him is bad.[168]
(15) It is the god who gives wealth, it is a wise man who guards (it).
(16) The virtue of a wise man is to gather without greed.
(17) The great praise of a wise man is self-control in his manner of life.
(18) The fool is in bad odor in the street because of gluttony.
(19) It is not only in one way that he becomes miserable.
(20) There is he who ‹cannot› eat yet in his heart desires much food.
(21) There is he who is feeble from yesterday yet has a craving for wine.
(22) [There is] he who dislikes intercourse yet ‹spends› his surplus on women.
(23) [There is] he who goes to his death in crime on account of gluttony.
(6,1) The evil that befalls the fool, his belly and his phallus bring it.
(2) [One] hunts on the river after the god (i.e. the crocodile) because of[169] his frightfulness.
(3) Death [comes] to the snake because of its love of biting.
(4) The first to be sated among the cattle is the one suitable for slaughter.
(5) [One catches] the bird that flies to the fish in order to fill its belly.

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167 Emending šm to ir wš, see Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,16f.
168 A wordplay on shy and shne, and the sense is contrary to that of 30/11.
169 Emending nty to r-tb3, see Volten op. cit. II,18.

(6) The pidgeon brings harm on its young[170] because of its belly.
(7) The swallow comes to grief for its little food.
(8) The life that controls excess is a life according to the wise man's heart.
(9) Vegetables with natron are the best food that can be found.
(10) Wealth and saving are the equal of work .....
(11) Illness befalls a man because the food harms him.
(12) He who sates himself with too much bread becomes ill and suffers.
(13) He who sates himself with too much wine lies down in a stupor.
(14) All kinds of illness are in the limbs because of being too sated.
(15) He who is moderate in his manner of life, his flesh is not disturbed.
(16) Illness does not burn him who is moderate in food.
(17) Poverty does not rule over him who controls himself in expenditure.
(18) His belly does not relieve itself in the street because of the food in it.
(19) The fool has neither shame nor fidelity because of (his) gluttony.
(20) He who is insolent among men becomes the first among women.
(21) He who eats for the sake of his belly is violated by his companions.
(22) He who is gluttonous through shamelessness draws everyone's blame to himself.
(23) He who eats when there is no reserve is one who sleeps while death is before him.
(24) He who spends without an income must pay interest on interest.
(7,1) It is an illness without recovery; one reaches death through it.

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170 Emending to n3y.s šrw, see Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,20.

(2) It is an imprisonment without a future; one is confined forever.
(3) To be old without subsistence, that is an undesired lifetime.
(4) An old man[171] who has provisions is strong for what confronts him.
(5) ⌜A reserve in the house is effective for every need⌝.[172]
(6) The fool who forgets the morrow will lack food in it.
(7) The little he has is good as long as he is sated with plenty of food.
(8) Hunger is good for him who knows how to be sated without harm attaining him.
(9) Lawful punishment attains the man who is foolish because of his belly.
(10) A shameless glutton draws everyone's blame to himself.
(11) A wise man is harmed because of a woman he loves.
(12) He who is safe with his belly and guarded with his phallus is not blamed at all.
(13) There is one who lives on little so as to save, yet he becomes poor.
(14) There is one who does not know, yet the fate gives (him) wealth.
(15) It is not the wise man who saves who finds a reserve.
(16) Nor is it the one who spends who becomes poor.
(17) The god gives a wealth of provisions without an income.
(18) He also gives poverty in the purse without spending.
(19) The fate and the ⌜fortune⌝ that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 55.

(20) The Ninth Instruction. The teaching not to be a fool, so that one does not fail to receive you in the house.
(21) Wrongdoing ⌜comes⌝ [173] to the heart of the fool through his love of women.

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171 Emending mḫl to ḫl-'3, see Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,23f.

172 So, if one adopts the extensive emendations made by Volten, op. cit. II,27.

173 Emending bw to ḫr, see Volten, op. cit. II,26.

(22) He does not think of the morrow for the sake of wronging the wife of another.
(23) The fool who looks at a woman is like a fly[174] on blood.
(24) His --- attains the bedroom, unless the hand of another attains him.
(8,1) The [fool] brings disturbance to --- because of his phallus.
(2) His love of fornication does harm to his livelihood.
(3) He who knows how to dominate his heart has the equal of every teaching.
(4) If a woman is beautiful reveal your mastery of her.[175]
(5) A good woman who does not love another man in her family is a wise woman.
(6) The women who follow this teaching are rarely bad.
(7) (Their) good condition comes from the voice of the god in them.
(8) There is she who fills her house with wealth without there being an income.
(9) There is she who is mistress of praise as mistress of the house through her character.
(10) There is she whom I know as the blame of the bad woman.[176]
(11) Fear her on account of the fear of Hathor.
(12) The fool who wrongs the mistress of the house,[177] his portion is to be cursed.
(13) He who is worthy before the god will have respect for them.
(14) There is he who forgets a wife when he is young because he loves another woman.
(15) She is not a good woman who is pleasing to another (man).
(16) She is not the fool of the street who misbehaves in it.
(17) He is not a wise man who consorts with them.
(18) The work of Mut and Hathor is what acts among women.

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174 Emending iwf to 'f', see Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,46.
175 Self-mastery must be meant.
176 See above p. 161.
177 Emending nb to nb.t pr, as proposed by Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,27f.

(19) It is in women that the good demon and the bad demon are active on earth.[178]
(20) The fate and the fortune go and come when he (the god) commands them. Total: 23.

(21) The Tenth Instruction. The teaching not to weary of instructing your son.
(22) A statue of stone is the foolish son whom his father has not instructed.
(23) It is a son's good and blessed portion to obtain instruction and utterance.
(24) No instruction can have effect if there is dislike.
(9,1) The youth [who] is not spoiled by his belly is not blamed.
(2) He who is safe with his phallus, his name does not stink.
(3) He who is steadfast and thoughtful is chosen among the people.
(4) He who listens to a reproof protects himself from another.
(5) The fault in every kind of character comes from not listening.
(6) Thoth has placed the stick on earth in order to teach the fool by it.
(7) He gave shame to the wise man for the sake of escaping all crime/punishment.
(8) The youth who has respect through shame is not scorned with punishment.
(9) A son does not die from being punished by his father.
(10) He who loves his spoiled son will spoil himself with him.
(11) The stick and shame protect his ⌜son⌝[179] from the fiend.
(12) The son who is not taught, his ⟨...⟩ causes wonder.
(13) The heart of his father does not desire a long lifetime for him.
(14) The wise one among the children is worthy of life.
(15) Better the son of another than a son who is an accursed fool.

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178 See above p. 162.

179 Emending nb to šr, as proposed by Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,21.

(16) There is he who has not been taught, yet he knows how to instruct another.
(17) There is he who knows the instruction, yet he does not know how to live by it.
(18) He is not a true son who accepts instruction so as to be taught.
(19) It is the god who gives the heart, gives the son, and gives the good character.
(20) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who determines them. Total: 25.

(21) The Eleventh Instruction. The teaching how to acquire protection for yourself, so that you do not become needy.
(22) To serve by virtue of [his] character protects him who seeks protection.
(23) Small wrath, shame, and care, that is the praise of the wise man.
(10,1) [It is the god who] gives protection to the wise man because of (his) service.
(2) A wise man who has a mortgage gives service for safety.
(3) A wise man in quietude gives service in the manner of life (or, for a livelihood).
(4) The fool who does not give service, his goods will belong to another.
(5) The stupid man who has no protection sleeps in prison.[180]
(6) He who has found his asylum is not taken away by force.
(7) He who spends something on protection sleeps safely in the street.
(8) He who gives bread (or, a gift) when there is an accusation is justified without being questioned.
(9) He who does half a good deed and half a service gets abuse.
(10) Do not withhold your name, lest you spoil your reward.
(11) Do not vaunt what you have done as a service, for then you annoy.

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180 Emending wn to mn, as suggested by Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,24f.

(12) Do not approach when it is not the time for it, for then your master will dislike you.
(13) Do not be far, lest one must search for you and you become a stench to him.
(14) Do not multiply complaints about obtaining the reward that you desire.
(15) Do not tell him you were patient at the time of his benefaction.
(16) Do not be free in speaking to him so that he should know you were patient.
(17) Do not slight him in the street, lest his stick[181] repay you.
(18) Do not tell him something bad when he blames your stupidity.
(19) Do not tell him something good out of concern for his enmity.
(20) Do not say anything to him when there is anger in his heart.
(21) Do not sit, do not stand in an undertaking which is urgent.
(22) Do not tarry when he gives a command, lest his time be lost.
(23) Do not [hasten to] do an evil deed because he said something that should not be heard.
(11,1) Do not be forgetful at the time of questioning.
(2) Do not report at all when something else is in his heart.
(3) Do not answer when he asks you about an undertaking which you do not know.
(4) Do not vaunt your manner of life when he knows it.
(5) Do not let your name come before him in any matter concerning a woman.
(6) Do not carry a word into the street from a counsel in his house.
(7) Do not accuse him before another person by blaming his character.

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181 Emending šʒy to šbt, see Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,14.

(8) Do not be ashamed at the time of an accusation when he questions you and examines you.
(9) You should serve him when he is near as well as when he is far from you.[182]
(10) Know the disposition of his character, do not do what his heart despises.
(11) If he finds fault with you, go and plead with him until he is reconciled to you.
(12) If he gives you a gift, take it to the god and he will let you have it.
(13) There is no true protection except the work of the god.
(14) There is no true servant except the one who does his service.
(15) He is a wall of copper for his lord in the darkness.
(16) He brings destruction upon the enemy without protection behind him.
(17) There is he who is tormented, and it is his master who questions.
(18) He is not a powerful master who gives protection to another.
(19) Nor is he a powerless outcast who is tormented.
(20) Before the god the strong and the weak are a joke.
(21) The fate and the fortune go and come when he commands them. Total: 47.

(22) The Twelfth Instruction
(23) Do not trust one whom you do not know in your heart, lest he cheat you with cunning.
(24) The blind one whom the god blesses, his way is open.
(12,1) The lame one whose heart is on the way of the god, his way is even.
(2) The god blesses trust[183] with protection.
(3) The evil man is evilly punished because of (his) deceit.

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182 So, with the emendations proposed by Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,56f.

183 Emending nḫt.t to nḫt, as in Volten, op. cit. II,48.

(4) Do not trust a fool because he brings you (something) with a blessing.
(5) The stupid man who seeks to deceive, his tongue brings him harm.
(6) Do not trust another on the way if there are no people near you.
(7) The work of the fiend affects the wise man through cunning.
(8) Do not trust your enemy, lest his heart bring forth cursing.
(9) The fool who is insolent is overpowered by the fiend.
(10) The evil man takes two-thirds and seeks the other third.
(11) Do not trust a fool because of an oath.
(12) Do not trust a fool at any time in an undertaking.
(13) The property of a wise man is lost through being left in the hand of a fool.
(14) One does not discover the heart of a man in his character if one has not sent him (on an errand).
(15) One does not discover the heart of a wise man if one has not tested him in a matter.
(16) One does not discover the heart of a true man if one has not consulted him in a reckoning.
(17) One does not discover ‹the heart› of a trustworthy man if one has not sought something from him.
(18) One does not discover the heart of a friend if one has not consulted him in anxiety.
(19) One does not discover the heart of a brother if one has not begged ‹from him› in want.
(20) One does not discover the heart of a son until the day when one seeks goods from him.
(21) One does not discover the heart of a servant as long as his master is not attacked.
(22) One does not ever discover the heart of a woman anymore than (one knows) the sky.
(23) When a wise man is tested it is rare to find him perfect.
(24) One who has a foolish tongue is many times found out.
(25) There is he who trusts the moment and he is safe forever.
(13,1) There is he who trusts no one but himself.

(2) He is not a man[184] of heart who is tested in every kind of behavior.
(3) Nor is he a fool who is discovered by examining it.
(4) Shame is the gift of the god in whom one trusts.[185]
(5) He does not apportion it to the evil man nor to the impious one.
(6) Falsehood does not depart from them nor the cunning which he loves (i.e. which they love).
(7) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who determines them. Total: 35.

(8) The Thirteenth Instruction
(9) Do not trust a thief, lest you come to grief.
(10) Better a serpent in the house than a fool who frequents it.
(11) He who frequents a fool is drawn into crime.
(12) He who lives with a stupid man dies in prison.
(13) The friend of a fool sleeps bound to him.
(14) The crimes of a fool harm even his brothers.
(15) A crocodile in fury harms its divine brothers.
(16) A fool who lights a fire goes close to it and burns.
(17) A stupid man who starts a fight goes close to it and falls.
(18) When a thief commits a theft his companions get a beating.
(19) He who walks with a wise man shares his praise.
(20) He who passes by with a fool makes a stench in the street.
(21) There is he who meets grief because he has met a stupid man.
(22) There is who is far from him, yet he gets into crime without knowing it.
(23) It is not he who walks with a fool who is ruined through foolishness.[186]
(14,1) He is not a wise man who shows the way to another.
(2) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who determines them. Total: 17.

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184 Emending w' to rmt, as done by Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,35.
185 Note the wordplay of šyp, "shame," and šp, "gift."
186 Deleting the second negation, as done by Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,111-113.

(3) The Fourteenth Instruction. Do not let the inferior man rule, lest he make your name that of a fool.
(4) If the food is rightly measured[187] and the work settled, the servant/slave is humble before its master.
(5) To ⌜thrash⌝ the stupid man is to draw him away from his bad character.
(6) A fool before whom there is no stick has no concern in his heart.
(7) A fool who has no concern gives concern to him who sends him (on an errand).
(8) The pay due to the inferior man, let it be food and the stick.
(9) The inferior man whose face is downcast is one who has been well instructed.
(10) A stupid man who has no work, his phallus does not give him rest.
(11) If the stick is far from the master, the servant/slave does not listen to him.
(12) The god blesses him who punishes lawfully.
(13) And he is angered if the fool is left to (his) stupidity.
(14) The ruler is punished for letting the impious man have power.
(15) The god leaves his city during the rule of an evil master.
(16) Law and justice cease in a town when there is no stick.[188]
(17) Trouble comes to the people through disturbance by a stupid man.
(18) Evil counsel attains the fool when there is no control.[189]
(19) The god gives power to the wise man for the sake of command.
(20) A great temple is ruined because its leaders are in discord.
(21) Do not let pass the offense of him who extends his hand.

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187 Emending dnt to dnf, as done by Volten, Weisheitsbuch II, 10.

188 Emending 3my.t to tmy and r-tb3 to iw mn, as done by Volten, op. cit. II,25 & 53.

189 Again emending r-tb3 to iw mn.

(22) Do not leave a fool or evil man to the behavior that he likes.
(23) Do not leave an ignorant man or a fool at a work that he does not know.
(15,1) Do not let an impious or inferior man command the people.
(2) There is a trace of the inferior man in the character of the man of god.[190]
(3) He is not a great man who is chosen because of character.
(4) Nor is he an inferior man who leaves the way because of stupidity.
(5) The heart and the character and their owner are in the hand of the god.
(6) The fate and the fortune go and come when he commands them. Total: 28.

(7) The Fifteenth Instruction. Do not be greedy, lest your name stink.
(8) A mortgage with greed is coal that burns its owner.
(9) Theft with greed brings a lawful killing (i.e. execution).
(10) The god gives wealth to the wise man because of generosity.
(11) The wealth of generosity is greater than the wealth of greed.
(12) Greed puts strife and combat in a house.
(13) Greed removes shame, mercy, and trust from the heart.
(14) Greed causes disturbance in a family.
(15) He who is greedy does not like to give to him who gave to him.
(16) He does not think of the morrow because he lives for the moment.
(17) He does not eat of a thing to satiety because of stupidity.
(18) Money with greed, its wrong does not end.
(19) Money is the snare the god has placed on the earth for the impious man so that he should worry daily.
(20) But he gives it to his beloved so as to remove worry from his heart.

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190 Emending tr.t to tny.t and my.t to 3my.t, cf. Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,43.

(21) He who is generous in giving food through it is one to whom the fate gives it.
(22) Wealth goes to him who gives food through it.
(16,1) Burnt offering and libation are excellent for (giving) food.
(2) A funeral is excellent for giving food in it.
(3) The heart of the god is content when the poor man is sated before him.
(4) If property accrues to you give a portion to the god; that is the portion of the poor.
(5) If much property accrues to you spend for your town, so that there is no torment in it.
(6) If you have power invite him who is far as well as him who is near you.
(7) He who invites him who is far, his name will be great when he is far.
(8) He who loves his neighbor finds family around him.
(9) The good repute of the good man conveys a great name from one to another.
(10) (Giving) food without dislike removes all dislike.
(11) The god gives a thousand for one to him who gives it to another.
(12) The god lets one acquire wealth on account of doing the good deed of mercy.
(13) He who gives food to him who is poor, the god credits it to him for an offering of millions.[191]
(14) The giving of food contents the heart of the god <more than> the heart of him who finds it.
(15) He who loves to give food to another will find it before him in every house.
(16) He who hides because of avarice is a stranger who is hidden.
(17) He who wrongs his people dies without prayers being said for him.

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191 This rendering of lines 11-13 is based on the excellent new study of the lines by Robert K. Ritner which will appear in Enchoria 11.

(18) But a family accrues to the wise man, the one who thinks of requiting it.
(19) The death of the evil man is a feast for the household left behind.
(20) The praise of the street is the exchange for the goods of the storehouse.
(21) Small wealth with blessing is Hapy in his time of ⌜growth⌝.
(22) The goods of the greedy are ashes driven by the wind.
(23) There is he who buries them when they are gathered, and then the earth conceals them.
(17,1) He is not a greedy/avaricious hoarder who has a reserve in the storehouse.
(2) It is the god who gives wealth and poverty[192] according to that which he has decreed.
(3) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who determines them. Total: 42.

(4) The Sixteeenth Instruction. Do not let your flesh suffer when you have something in the storehouse.
(5) The heart cannot be high when there is heart-soreness in it.
(6) Death and the life of tomorrow, we do not know its ⟨shape⟩.
(7) Today with its livelihood is what the wise man asks for.
(8) He who loves to hoard wealth will die robbed of it.
(9) The good lifetime of him who has become old is provided by what is in his hand.
(10) He who is poor while there are goods in the storehouse is one who will (have to) beg his share of them.
(11) He who has passed sixty years, everything has passed for him.
(12) If his heart loves wine, he cannot drink to drunkenness.
(13) If he desires food, he cannot eat as he used to.
(14) If his heart desires a woman, her moment does not come.
(15) Wine, women, and food give gladness to the heart.
(16) He who uses them without shouting is not reproached in the street.

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192 Emending 'f' to šft.t, as done by Volten, op. cit. II,35.

(17) He who is deprived of one of them becomes the enemy of his body.
(18) The wise man who finds provisions, his time will not be miserable.
(19) Better is the short time of him who is old than the long lifetime of him who begs.
(20) The life of one who is greedy/avaricious is one that passes without having been known.
(21) The life that approaches the peak, two-thirds of it are lost.
(22) He (man) spends ten ‹years› as a child before he understands death and life.
(23) He spends another ten ‹years› to acquire the work of instruction by which he will be able to live.
(18,1) He spends another ten years gaining and earning possessions by which to live.
(2) He spends another ten years up to old age before his heart takes counsel.
(3) There remain sixty years of the whole life which Thoth has recorded for the man of god.
(4) One in a million, the god giving his blessing, is he who spends them with the fate being satisfied.
(5) Neither the sinner nor the man of god can alter the lifetime recorded for him.
(6) He who is fortunate in his days thinks of death in them.
(7) He who thinks of it for the sake of hoarding, the riches will bring about his end.
(8) The chief demon is the first to punish (him) after the taking of the breath.
(9) Cedar oil, incense, natron, and salt are ⌜small⌝ [193] remedy for healing his wounds.
(10) An inflammation that has no mercy burns his body.
(11) He cannot say "Remove your hand," during the punishment by him who deals out beatings.

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193 Either ḥm.t, "hot," here means "aggravating," or it might be emended to ḫm.t, "small."

(12) The end of the man of god is to be buried on the mountain with his burial equipment.
(13) The owner of millions who acquired them by hoarding can not take them to the mountain in his hand.
(14) One does not give a lifetime to him who hoards in order to leave them to another after him.
(15) He who thinks of the god and his protection is one who does what he (the god) wishes on earth.
(16) The gift of the god to the man of god is making him patient in his time of mercy.
(17) Great is the grief of those who left the way at leaving their savings to another.
(18) He who knows what is within the man of god does not hoard riches.
(19) Drink and eat when no brother is hungry, when no father and mother ⌜beseech⌝ you.
(20) Make holiday freely as long as no one begs from you.
(21) Be happy with whom you wish as long as no fool joins you.
(22) As for a good woman of tested good character, you will not be able to blame her on account of it.[194]
(23) A timely remedy is to prevent illness by having the greatness of the god in your heart.
(19,1) There is he who uses his portion for himself in a lifetime without blame.
(2) There is he who hoards riches until death arrives.
(3) He is not the owner of millions in wealth who takes his portion of it.
(4) He is not a greedy one who is concerned for his next day's food.
(5) The fate and the fortune go and come when he (the god) commands them. Total: 51.

(6) The Seventeenth Instruction. Do not let worry flourish, lest you become distraught.
(7) If the heart worries about its owner it makes him ill.

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194 By emending to "you cannot be blamed on her account," as Volten did in Acta Or 25,38, the sense is slightly improved but still unclear.

(8) When worry has arisen the heart seeks death itself.
(9) It is the god who gives patience to the wise man in misfortune.
(10) The impious man who forgets the god dies stricken in his heart.
(11) A short day in misfortune is many (days) in the heart of the impatient man.
(12) The support of the man of god in misfortune is the god.
(13) The fool does not call to him in trouble because of (his) impiety.
(14) He who is steadfast in hardship, his fate goes and comes accordingly.
(15) The fate together with the god bring happiness after anxiety.
(16) Do not be heart-sore in (your) town because you are weak.
(17) He who is weak in (his) town becomes strong in it again.
(18) Do not prefer death to life in misfortune out of despair.
(19) The god returns contentment, he who is dead does not return.
(20) He creates happiness through the fate at the end of old age.
(21) The weak man who has no resentment, his food is not hard.
(22) What is good for a man is not be vengeful when the fate is hard.
(23) Do not be heart-sore about a matter if its course comes to a halt.
(20,1) The day of loss is lost for its very safety.
(2) Do not sail the course of the evil man even when fate is satisfied with him.
(3) The impious man does not die in the fortune which he likes.
(4) Do not be heart-sore during an imprisonment; the work of the god is great.
(5) The man of god is in prison for his very safety.
(6) ⌜Death protects from prison because of prayer⌝.
(7) Do not worry your heart with the ⌜bitternis⌝ of one who is dying.
(8) No one turns away from life because of another's dying.
(9) Nor does anyone listen because you pray to the sky.

(10) He who dies (or, has died) in the middle of life, the god knows what he has done.
(11) The god does not forget the punishment for any crime.
(12) What passes by of vexations today, let them be yesterday to you.
(13) What comes of hardship, leave yourself in the hand of the god in it.
(14) One day differs from another for him whose heart cares.
(15) One hour differs from another in a lifetime without blame.
(16) It so befell in the beginning when the gods were on earth.
(17) When Pre had weakened before the enemies, they weakened before him in turn.
(18) When Horus had been hidden behind the papyrus, he became master of the earth in turn.
(19) Happiness came to Isis out of misfortune at the end[195] of what she had undergone.
(20) Good steering comes out of trouble after grief.
(21) The god turns away fear in the straits when death is near.
(22) He saves the ox after whose branding is the slaughter block.
(23) The fear of the man of god is that which goes just as it came.
(21,1) Hardship when there is no blame is not to be feared.
(2) A time in misfortune does not make the man of god give up.
(3) There is he who is persevering about tomorrow without his hand attaining.
(4) There is he who does not take care, and the fate cares for him.
(5) He is not a wise man in misfortune who takes his heart for a companion.
(6) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 48.

(7) The Eighteenth Instruction
(8) The teaching of being patient until you have taken counsel, lest you offend.

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195 Read n phw and see above p. 130, n. 114.

(9) The patience of a wise man is to consult with the god.
(10) Patience without resentment results in good steering.
(11) ⌜The impiety of the evil man finds ... of Thoth before him⌝.
(12) Harm (or, punishment) attains the fool because he does not take counsel.
(13) He who listens to the judgment of his heart sleeps without trouble.
(14) He who guards his heart and his tongue sleeps without an enemy.
(15) He who reveals a secret matter, his house will burn.
(16) He who repeats it out of[196] impatience is one who defiles his tongue.
(17) He who turns away from his anger is one who is far from the anger of the god.
(18) The fool who is impatient, the god is impatiently after him.
(19) When a fool is patient time lags for him.
(20) The patience of a fool is like a flame that flares and then dies.
(21) The patience ‹of a fool› equals a water that is held back and then its dam lets pass.
(22) The patience of a fool is such that when his master sends him, he who has sent him must go after him.
(23) Patience and impatience, the fate is their lord who makes them.
(22,1) All their time is examined by the wise man.
(2) Their determination is through the counsel which the god has decreed.
(3) He who finds counsel is not a wise man who takes counsel.
(4) Nor is he whose manner annoys a fool or an idiot.
(5) Taking counsel, thought, and patience are in the hand of the god.
(6) The fate and the fortune go and come when he commands them. (The line count is missing).

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196 Emending r to r-tb3.

(7) The Nineteenth Instruction. The teaching of making your speech calm.
(8) Gentleness in every kind of behavior, that is the praise of the wise man.
(9) The might of a fool in power is one that goes to a swift death.
(10) Do not make your voice harsh, do not speak loudly with your tongue.
(11) A loud voice causes harm to the parts of the body just like an illness.
(12) Do not be impatient when you question, so that you get angry when it is time to listen.
(13) Do not reveal what is hidden to a wise man for the sake of (his) listening.
(14) His praise is great before the people because of listening.
(15) Water goes into the temple although there is no water before it.
(16) Do not be vengeful to him who is (or, has been) vengeful until his day has come.
(17) He who fares downstream with the ⌜oar⌝, ⌜rows⌝ when it is time to ⌜row⌝.
(18) Do not reveal what is in your heart to your master when (he is) reckoning.
(19) The counsel that occurs to the fool is weightless like the wind.
(20) Do not give way often to your tongue to counsel when you have not been asked.
(21) He who hastens with his word when he speaks gives a false answer.
(22) One does not listen to the voice of a ⌜chatterer⌝ in an accusation.
(23) One does not judge according to the complaint of a stupid man because it is strong.
(23,1) One does not torment someone unless he has been un-uncovered through (his) begging.
(2) One does not pity the impious man during punishment because (his) voice is loud.
(3) One does not praise a loaded donkey because it brays.

(4) A fool does not obtain a portion of something because of bringing (something).[197]
(5) Better is the portion of him who is silent than the portion of him who says "Give me."
(6) It is better to bless someone than to do harm to one who has insulted you.
(7) If a wise man is not calm his manner does not avail.
(8) If there is no[198] calm in combat its army cannot rest.
(9) If there is no calm in a feast its master cannot ⌜get drunk⌝.
(10) If there is no calm in a temple its gods are the ones who abandon it.
(11) One places a chapel under a god because of its name.
(12) Praise goes to the wise man because of (his) calm.
(13) Old age is the good time of life because of (its) gentleness.
(14) He who makes his behavior harsh goes to a bad death.
(15) There is the evil man who is calm like a crocodile in water.
(16) There is the fool who is calm like heavy lead.
(17) He is not a restless fool who is gripped by unrest.
(18) It is the god who gives calm and unrest through his commands.
(19) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 36.

(20) The Twentieth Instruction. Do not slight a small thing, lest you suffer from it.
(21) Deadly harm comes to the fool for slighting greatness in his heart.
(22) In turn harm is done to a great man for slighting smallness.
(23) It is the god who gives the heart to the wise man for the sake of fear/respect.

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197 The sense is improved if one emends in, "bring," to šn, "ask," as was done by Volten, Weisheitsbuch II,198.

198 Emending wn to mn, with Volten, op. cit. II,24f.

(24) It is he who leaves the impious man in harm because of (his) brutality.
(25) Do not slight royalty and divinity in order to injure them.
(24,1) He who fears harm escapes all harm.
(2) Do not slight a small illness for which there is a remedy; use the remedy.
(3) He to whom an illness reverts day after day, his recovery from it is hard.
(4) Do not slight a small amulett when it is time to seek it.
(5) An amulett that has no harm saves its owner from it.
(6) Do not slight a small god, lest his retaliation teach you.
(7) The small shrew mouse vents its anger.
(8) The small scarab ‹is great› through its hidden image.
(9) The small dwarf is great because of his name.
(10) The small snake has poison.
(11) The small river has its demon.
(12) The small fire is (to be) feared.
(13) The small document has great benefit.
(14) The small-of-age (the youth), his name avails through combat.
(15) The small cord binds its ⌜oar⌝.
(16) The small truth, its owner ⌜injures by it⌝.
(17) The small falsehood makes trouble for him who commits it.
(18) The little food gives well-being to its owner.
(19) The small service, if steady, removes dislike.
(20) A little saving creates wealth.
(21) A little bread (or, gift) stops a killing.
(22) The heart, in its smallness, sustains its owner.
(23) A small worry breaks the bones.
(24) A small good news makes the heart live.
(25) A little dew makes the field live.
(25,1) A little wind carries the boat.
(2) The little bee brings the honey.
(3) The small šḳt carries away the field.
(4) The small locust destroys the grapevine.
(5) A small wrong hastens death.
(6) A small benefaction is not hidden from the god.

(7) Many are the small things that are worthy of respect.
(8) Few are the great things that are worthy of admiration.
(9) There is he who fears blame, yet he commits a great crime.
(10) There is he who is loud-mouthed[199] out of scorn, yet he gives service.
(11) He who guards himself is not a wise and respectful man.
(12) Nor is he to whom harm comes a deceitful fool.
(13) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who determines them. Total: 44.

(14) The Twenty-first Instruction. The teaching not to slight lest you be slighted.
(15) The hand that is not greedy, its owner is not reproached.
(16) A town in which you have no family, your heart is your family.
(17) A man's good character, it serves as company around him.
(18) Do not love your belly, know shame in your heart, do not scorn the voice of your heart.
(19) He who scorns one of them makes a stench in the street.
(20) Do not dance in the crowd, do not appear among the multitude.
(21) Do not let your tongue differ from your heart in counsel when you are asked.
(22) A false man does not tell to another what is in his heart.
(23) What he desires does not come about through his counsels.
(24) Do not fear, do not be lazy, do not let worry flourish.
(26,1) The wage of the fool and the inferior man is the laughter that falls on him.
(2) Do not ask for something that belongs to another out of scorn for him.
(3) Do not scorn an inferior man because his hand is extended when it is untimely.
(4) The fool makes an enemy of his questioner by his not listening.
(5) Do not flatter nor be insolent in any house because of love of your belly.

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199 Literally, shoots his mouth.

(6) He who goes without having been invited is one to whom the house is narrow (i.e. inhospitable).
(7) When the evil man has well-being he asks for death in it.[200]
(8) The wise man who despairs, death is a wonder to him.
(9) Do not think of hindering a fool or one bereft of judgment.
(10) He who loves worry does not listen to reproof of what he has done.
(11) Do not do a work which is scorned if you can live by another.
(12) Do not be close to one in whose heart there is hatred.
(13) The fool with his bad character does not cease to hate.
(14) Do not beg a gift from an evil brother in the family.
(15) There is no brother in the family except the brother who is kindhearted.
(16) Do not borrow money at interest in order to provide plenty of food with it.
(17) He who controls himself concerning his manner of life is not reproached on account of his belly.
(18) Do not alter your word when spending, do not cheat at the time of sealing (a contract).
(19) A wise man who is trusted, his pledge is in one's hand.
(20) His word in a matter is a pledge without an oath.
(21) Do not set a due date for someone while another (date) is in your heart.
(22) What is in the heart of the wise man is what one finds on his tongue.
(23) Do not draw back from what you have said except from a lawless wrong.
(24) The honor of the true and wise scribe is in his words.
(27,1) Do not cheat when you are questioned, there being a witness behind you.
(2) Do not steal out of hunger, you will be found out.
(3) Better death in want than life in shamelessness.

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200 Literally, The well-being of the evil man, they ask for death in it.

(4) Do not raise your hand, there being one who listens.
(5) .....
(6) He who is silent under slander is one who escapes from crime.
(7) Do not desire to take revenge on your master in order to seek justice.
(8) Do not come close to the strong man though you have protection behind you.
(9) When a wise man is stripped he gives his clothes and blesses.
(10) Do not undertake any work and then fail to be satisfied by it.
(11) Do not render judgment to the people without a stick <to make them> listen to you.
(12) The fool who is justified insults him who slandered him.
(13) Do not be brutal to one who is silent, lest his heart beget strife.
(14) The snake one treads on ejects a strong poison.
(15) The fool who is brutal to another is scorned for (his) brutality.
(16) There is who is scorned for (his) gentleness, yet he is patient toward another through it.
(17) There is he who is arrogant, and he makes a stench in the street.
(18) He is not a wise man who is chosen among the people.
(19) Nor is he a great man who is respected by another.
(20) It is the god who gives the praise and the blameless character.
(21) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 57.

(22) The Twenty-second Instruction
(23) The teaching not to abandon the place in which you can live.
(28,1) Humble work and humble food are better than being sated far away.
(2) The occupation of one who is foolish about his belly is to go around after a violent death.

(3) When a wise and godly man has an illness close to death he is yet strong in it.
(4) The god who is in the town is the one by whose command are the death and life of his people.
(5) The impious man who becomes a stranger puts himself in the hand of the fiend.
(6) The <man> of god who is far from his town, his worth is not better known than that of another.
(7) He who dies far from his town is buried only out of pity.
(8) The wise man who is unknown is one who is scorned by the fools.
(9) The town of the fool is hostile to him because of his wandering about.[201]
(10) The impious man who leaves the way of his town, its gods are the ones who hate him.
(11) He who loves wrongful roaming is one who finds lawful punishment.
(12) The crocodiles get their portion of the fools because of (their) roaming.
(13) Such is the way of life of people who roam.
(14) He who goes away saying "I shall come back" is one who returns by the hand of the god.
(15) He who is far while his prayer is far, his gods are far from him.
(16) No blood brother reaches him in (his) anxiety.
(17) If one is saved from an evil thing, as a stranger one gets into it.[202]
(18) Everywhere the stranger is the servant of the inferior man.
(19) He gets slandered by the people although he has done no wrong.
(20) Someone will despise him though he did not spite him.
(21) He must listen to curse and abuse and laugh at it as a joke.

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201 Emending h.t to kty, as done by Volten, Weisheitsbuch II, 54.

202 Literally, He who is saved from an evil thing, the stranger is the one who gets into it.

(22) He must forget the crime of woman[203] because he is a stranger.
(23) A rich man who is abroad is one whose purse gets rifled.
(24) When a wise man is far away his heart seeks his town.
(29,1) He who worships his god in his town in the morning, he will live.
(2) He who pronounces his (the god's) name in a wrong is saved from it.
(3) The wise man who goes and comes will place the greatness of the god in his heart.
(4) He who goes and comes while on his way returns to him again.
(5) Wherever the wise man is, the praise of his name is with him.
(6) The fool <with> his bad character gets into crime through it.
(7) There is not many a man of the town who knows how to live in it.
(8) Nor is he a stranger whose life is hard.
(9) It is the god who shows the way through the teaching of how to live.
(10) It is he who leaves the impious man to go and come without a place to stay.
(11) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 38.

(12) The Twenty-third Instruction. Do not burn, lest the god burn you <with> punishment.
(13) The poison of the breathing snake is (in) its mouth; the poison of the inferior man is (in) his heart.
(14) He equals <the snake> which kills; he is merciless like the crocodile.
(15) One cannot remove the poison of the crocodile, the snake, and the evil one.
(16) One cannot find a remedy against the sting of a fool's tongue.

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203 See above p. 102, n. 92.

(17) The fool who roams about loves neither peace nor him who brings it.
(18) The impious man does not desire mercy for him who has done wrong to him.
(19) His eye is insatiable for blood in lawless crime.
(20) He who burns about an evil gets into crime through it.
(21) The burning fire is extinguished by water while the water reverts to it.
(22) Natron and salt are lost in their action because of (their) burning.
(23) Milk is spoiled in a jug ...
(30,1) It is because of many foods that firmness is good.[204]
(2) The evil man whose heart loves evil will find it.
(3) One who thinks of the good is one who masters it.
(4) The good action of incense, its portion is in it.
(5) The impatient man gets into trouble through seeking to injure by it.
(6) What comes from the earth returns to it again.
(7) The god gives the lamp and the fat according to the heart.
(8) He knows his beloved and gives goods to him who gave to him.
(9) The impious man does not cease from the behavior which he loves.
(10) The man of god does not burn to injure, lest one burn against him.
(11) The evil man who has power does not let harm grow against him.
(12) The man of god stays in misfortune until the god is reconciled.
(13) He who knows how to steer his heart is not one who is merciful.
(14) Nor is he who knows the curse of haste one who burns.
(15) All these are in the power of the fate and the god.
(16) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 28.

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204 On this saying see above p. 164.

(17) The Twenty-fourth Instruction
(18) The teaching of knowing the greatness of the god so as to put it in your heart.
(19) Heart and tongue of the wise man, the greatness of their dwelling-place is being that of the god.
(20) When heart and tongue are without blame, steering results from it.
(21) The work of the god appears as a joke to the heart of the fool.
(22) The life of the fool is a burden to the god himself.
(23) A lifetime is given to the impious man in order to make him encounter retaliation.
(24) Property is given to the evil man in order to deprive him of his breath through it.
(31,1) One does not understand the heart of the god until what he has decreed has come.
(2) When the people raise their hands the god knows it.
(3) He knows the impious man who thinks of evil.
(4) He knows the man of god and that he has the greatness of the god in his heart.
(5) Before the tongue has been questioned the god knows its answers.
(6) The blow of the lance that comes from afar, the place where it lands is decreed for it.
(7) The impious man alone suffers a thousandfold.
(8) ⌜Though⌝ the god lets him escape from slaughter after having bound him.
(9) But one says "A wonder of the god" when one is in fear without blame.
(10) He is wakeful at night against the reptiles of the dark.
(11) He directs the heart and the tongue by his commands.
(12) He gives good determination through the counsel which no one knows.
(13) He creates abundant value without there being a storehouse behind him.
(14) It is he who makes the way safe without there being a guard.
(15) It is he who gives the just law without there being a judgment.

(16) He lets the great-of-birth (i.e. the wellborn) be great while he lives because of mercy.
(17) He makes the poor beggar a master because he knows his heart.
(18) The impious man does not say "There is god" in the fortune which he decrees.
(19) He who says "It cannot happen" should look to what is hidden.
(20) How do the sun and moon go and come in the sky?
(21) Whence go and come water, fire, and wind?
(22) Through whom do amulet and spell become remedies?
(23) The hidden work of the god, he makes it known on the earth daily.
(24) He created light and darkness with every creature in it.
(32,1) He created the earth, begetting millions, swallowing (them) up and begetting again.
(2) He created day, month, and year through the commands of the lord of command.
(3) He created summer and winter through the rising and setting of Sothis.
(4) He created food before those who are alive, the wonder of the fields.
(5) He created the constellation of those that are in the sky, so that those on earth would learn them.
(6) He created sweet water in it which all the lands desire.
(7) He created the breath in the egg though there is no access to it.
(8) He created birth in every womb from the semen which they receive.
(9) He created sinews and bones out of the same semen.
(10) He created going-and-coming in the whole earth through the trembling of the ground.
(11) He created sleep to end weariness, waking for taking care of food.
(12) He created remedies to end illness, wine to end affliction.
(13) He created the dream to show the way to the dreamer in his blindness.

(14) He created life and death before him for the torment of the impious man.
(15) He created wealth for truth, poverty for falsehood.
(16) He created work for the stupid man, food for the common man.
(17) He created the succession of generations so as to make them live.
(18) He lets the fortune of those on earth be hidden from them so as to be unknown.
(19) He lets the food of the servant be different from that of the master.[205]
(20) He lets a woman of the royal harem have another husband.
(21) He lets the stranger who has come from outside live like the townsman.
(22) There is no fellowman[206] who knows the fortune that is before him.
(23) There is he who follows his counsel, yet he finds a slaying in it.
(24) There is the deed which the fool commits, yet he does a good deed by it.
(33,1) He who is at the head of the crowd is not one who runs.
(2) Nor is he who falls on the way one who kills.
(3) Fate and retaliation go around and bring about what he (the god) has commanded.
(4) Fate does not look ahead, retaliation does not go-and-come wrongfully.
(5) Great is the counsel of the god in putting one thing after another.
(6) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them.

(6) The Twenty-fifth Instruction
(7) The teaching to guard against retaliation, lest a portion of it reach you.

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205 Lit., He lets the food of him who brings it be different from that of him to whom one brings it.

206 Lit., brother in the crowd.

(8) Violent vengefulness against the god brings a violent death.
(9) Vengefulness which is very powerful brings retaliation in turn.
(10) The god does not forget, retaliation does not rest.
(11) The impious man does not fear it, retaliation does not become sated with him.
(12) But gentleness toward the weak is on the way of the man of god.
(13) He who is arrogant in the town is one who will be weak on its ground.
(14) He who is loud-mouthed in the temple is one who will be silent because of weakness.
(15) He who leaves the weak in torment is one who will complain when he is no longer protected.
(16) He who takes food by force is one who will beg for it because of hunger.
(17) He who hastens to make an oath is one whose death will hasten.
(18) He who uncovers the affairs of another is one who will be uncovered.
(19) He who violates a man by force, his offspring will soon be buried.
(20) He who does harm for harm, his old age will be harmed.
(21) He who lets his heart be wakeful about retaliation will not find it.
(22) When you are sated with power, lay a little of it down.[207]
(23) When you live as one who is mighty, let the wrath of your heart be small.
(24) When you walk along the street, leave the way to him who is old.
(34,1) When you look at the weak man, fear the fate because of weakness.
(2) When you look at retaliation, fear retaliation because of crime/punishment.

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207 On h3' r hyr/hry, "lay down," see p. 97, note s.

(3) Retaliation is exalted because of its name and slighted because of impatience.
(4) Its punishment is heavier that the punishment of Sakhmet when she rages.
(5) .....
(6) When it (retaliation) reaches a house, the fate will seek to escape from it.
(7) When it reaches a family, it leaves the brothers as enemies.
(8) When it reaches a town, it leaves strife among its people.
(9) When it reaches a nome, it lets the evil one have power.
(10) When it reaches the temples, it lets the fools be strong.
(11) When it reaches the impious man, it makes another man fear him.
(12) When it reaches a wise man, he is left foolish, bad, and stupid.
(13) There is no counsel or thought in a wise man who is in the state of retaliation.
(14) No work quickens for the quick without fate.
(15) No man holds a mortgage or pledge if he is under a curse.
(16) There is no worry or harm at the time when the god is content.
(17) Retaliation does not cease to harm the destroyer.
(18) Fortune, blessing, and power are by his (the god's) command.
(19) He metes out punishment for offense, he gives reward for benefaction.
(20) He creates hunger after satiety, satiety in turn after hunger.
(21) Men cannot avoid the god and retaliation when he decrees (it) for them.
(22) He who burns <to do> every harm, the god will burn him with harm.
(23) He who lets pass a small fault dissolves dislike and is content.
(35,1) Violence, want, insult, unkindness, they never never rest.

(2) I have not burned to do evil ... , my heart, the god knows [it].
(3) I have not taken vengeance on another; another has not suffered on my account.
(4) The offense which I have committed unwittingly, I beg [forgiveness for it].
(5) I call to the god to be reconciled with me and give me ... without ---.
(6) He removes the worry about safety without a remnant.
(7) He gives a lifetime without despair and a [good] burial.
(8) He relies on your heart on its way in its days.
(9) Apis and Mnevis abide at the window of Pharaoh forever.
(10) They will do good to him who will listen to these (words) and to him who will say ---.
(11) The heart of the wise man, its recompense is the eye of the god ---.
(12) The heart of the impious man who does not know ... ---.
(13) The end of the instruction. May his ba be young for all eternity:
(14) Phebhor son of Djedherpaan, whose ba will serve Osiris-Sokar,
(15) the great god, the lord of Abydos. May his ba and his body be young for all eternity.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament, ed. J.B. Pritchard. 2d ed. Princeton 1955.
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
CRAIBL	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
Dict Spir	Dictionnaire de Spiritualité.
DPB	see Zauzich
Glossar	see Erichsen
HThR	The Harvard Theological Review.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux."
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie.
MPON	Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer).
NH	Nag Hammadi
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codices
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Fribourg-Göttingen.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden.
P, P., Pap.	Papyrus
PRE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, neue Bearbeitung von G. Wissowa et al.

PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.
RB	Revue Biblique.
RdE	Revue d'Egyptologie.
RhM	Rheinisches Museum.
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien.
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature.
SPOA	Les Sagesses du Proche Orient Ancien, Colloque de Strasbourg 17-19 mai 1962. Paris 1963.
SVF	Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta.
VTSuppl	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements.
Wb	Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, ed. A. Erman and H. Grapow. Leipzig-Berlin 1926-1963.
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament. Neukirchen.
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Tübingen.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.

Half brackets ⌜ ⌝ are used instead of question marks to signify doubtful translations.

Square brackets [ ] enclose restorations.

Angle brackets ⟨ ⟩ enclose words omitted by the scribe.

Parentheses ( ) enclose additions in the English translation.

A row of three dots indicates the omission in the English translation of one or two words. A row of six dots indicates a longer omission.

A row of three dashes indicates a short lacuna in the text. A row of six dashes indicates a lengthy lacuna.

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